EARLY BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANNATI

I.K. SARMA
J. VARAPRASADA RAO

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

"I cannot thank you enough for having made the Sannati inscriptions available to scholars so quickly. Their discovery is a very important contribution to the field of Aśokan studies and will, I know, generate a great deal of excitement."

Prof. K.R. Norman
Faculty of Oriental Studies
CAMBRIDGE.

Sannati on the left bank of Bhīmā river is comparable to the famous Nagarjunakonda on the river Krishṇā and alike threatened with submergence under the Bhīmā Multi-purpose Irrigation Project in the coming years.

Part-I of this tome dwells on the four Aśokan epigraphs, versions of Edicts XII and XIV and Special Edicts I and II, discovered in 1989, at Sannati. The huge rectangular slab (2 .33m x 1 .21m x 30cm. thick) of brown coarse-grained granite stone contained the Edicts engraved on both the faces and finished with Mauryan polish. Originally it appears to be a grand set up fixed on a high platform and prominently displayed for public view. It may be stated, at the outset, that among all the known Aśokan Edicts, be they Minor Rock Edicts; Major Rock Edicts; Pillar Edicts; or Separate Rock Edicts; Sannati stele stands as a lofty one and distinct from all the others. This is aptly the *dharmaśila* or *Śilāphalaka*, of Aśokan times.

Under Part-II, 77-Brāhmī inscriptions ranging in date from 2nd to 4th Century A.D. obtained within the sprawling village of Sannati and its ancient surroundings are compiled. Nowhere else so many records referring to the Sātavāhana kings and important personalities of the Royal household were found.

This epigraphical wealth renders Sannati unique in many respects and a remarkable variety of early historical mounds and sites await the surgical spade of the archaeologist. This priceless heritage needs to be preserved for future generations as the threat of submergence loomed large on this remarkable site.

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I.K. SARMA

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Respectfully dedicated

to the memory of

Śrī Mallampalli Somaśekhara Śarmā (1891-1963)

Dr. Nelaṭūri Venkaṭaramaṇayya (1891-1977)

and

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar (1907-1985)

doyens in the field of Epigraphical Studies

Contents

Foreword xiii

Preface xv

List of Illustrations xix

Part-I Aśokan Edicts From Sannati

I. **Introduction** 3

Devī (Kālikāṁbā) Shrine 4

II. **Discovery of the Edicts** 5

Unique among the Aśokan Records

III. **The Inscriptions over the Piṭha Slab** 8

(A) The First Face 10
(1) Text : Edict - XII
Translation (Full Text)
(2) Text : Edict - XIV
Translation (Full Text)

(B) The Second Face 12
(3) Portions of the Special Edict-I
Full Text and Translation (Dhauli)
(4) Text: Special Edict - II
Full Text and Translation (Jaugada)

IV. Other Features Script, Language and Grammar 21

V. Significance of the Records 23

Appendix-I 28

Synoptical Text of Aśokan Edicts
(A) The First Face, Edict-XII
(A) The First Face, Edict-XIV
(B) The Second Face, Special Edict-II

Appendix-II (A) 40

Texts of the Edicts of Sannati.
(a) Edicts–XII and XIV
(b) Special Edict II
(c) Special Edict I

Appendix – II (B) 42

Letter of K.R Norman with texts of Aśokan Edicts of Sannati.
Rock Edict XII 48

Rock Edict XIV 44

Separate Rock Edict I
Separate Rock Edict II

Face A Rock Edict XII 48

Rock Edict XIV
Separate Rock Edict I
Separate Rock Edict II

Appendix – II (C) 51

Texts of Aśokan Edicts from Sannati
as read by K.V. Ramesh (1990)

Rock Edict XII
Separate Edict II
Separate Edict I

Part-II Other Brāhmī Inscriptions From Sannati

VI. Location: Details of Discovery :
Dating of the Records. 54

VII. (A) Epigraphs of the Sātavāhana Rulers 63

A1. Inscribed Stele of the time of Śri Sātakarṇi.
A2. Inscription of the time Vāśishṭhiputra Śri Sātakarṇi
A3. Inscription of the time of Śiva Śri Puḍumāvi.
A4. Inscription of a Mahā Sāthavāhana, Agni Śarmā.

VII. (B) Inscriptions of Amātyas and other Important Personages of the Royal Household 82

B. 1. Inscriptions referring to an Amātyaputra.
B. 2. Memorial to the wife of a Rājamātya.
B. 3. Record of a Vaṇiyaka
B. 4. A Slab set up by an Amātyaputa.
B. 5. Set up for Deṭika and Purushadatta.
B. 6. Inscription referring to two amāchis.
B. 7. Inscription of a Mahāraṭhiputrasa.
B. 8. Slab set up in the temple of Bīrappa.
(B.9 and B.10, not illustrated)

VII. (C) Sculptured and Inscribed Memorials 87

C. 1. Memorial of a Śri Khirya
C. 2. Slab set up for Nāgabodhi
C. 3. Slab set up for Padmaśri.
C. 4. Slab referring to Siri Maka.
C. 5. Memorial for Vaṇīyaka
C. 6. Memorial for Dharamaha
C. 7. Memorial for Daṭila
C. 8. Memorial for Siyapāla
C. 9. Set up of a Selanikāya
C. 10. Memorial for Upāsika Śyāmā
C. 11. Memorial for Viśākha
C. 12. Set up of a Pillar
C. 13. Memorial for Somagha
C. 14. Memorial for Vāṇi and Seraṇha
(C.15 to C.16 not illustrated).

VII. (D) Inscriptions Referring to Noblemen, Householders etc. 93

D. 1. Inscription referring to Girija gaṇaka
D. 2. Inscription of a House Lady Nanda
D. 3. Inscriptions referring to a houselady from Ahimarikā.
D. 4. Inscription of a Householder Sūla
D. 5. Inscription of a gṛihiṇi Samāya

D. 6. Inscription caused by Govidāsi and Āryadāsi
D. 7. Inscription of a gṛihiṇi Yakha
D. 8. Sculptured panel with inscribed labels.
(D.9 to D.11, not illustrated).

VII. (E) Other Votive And Fragmentary Inscriptions 98

E. 1. Donation of a Deva Chhadaka
E. 2. Donation caused by Samkapa
E. 3. Set up of Akhapaṭalikā
E. 4. Donation of Muḍāni
E. 5. Set up of a Mahānāsika
E. 6. Record of Nāgadeva
E. 7. Donation of Amanikā
E. 8. Record referring to Ruḍupāla
E. 9. Set up by Araka
E.10. Donation by Śyāma
E.11. Slab by Māya
E.12. Inscription of a Śramaṇa
(E.13 to E.33, not illustrated)

VIII. Buddhism In Karṇāṭaka 104

1. Early Phase
2. Buddhism of the Post–Christian eras
Hampi Evidences
3. Later Buddhism in Karṇaṭaka
4. The Vajrayāna Phase.
Other Later Evidences

Select Bibliography 123

Index 125

Foreword

Amongst post-Independence archaeological discoveries in the Deccan the urban site with a variety of remains at Sannati in District Gulbarga, Karnataka is regarded to be of considerable significance especially in view of the early historical association. In fact, the remains of the ancient settlement with a fortified character at this site seem to preserve interesting evidence of urbanisation in the Deccan. Since 1954, archaeologists have located several antiquities here. What is however most important amongst the finds from this site are scores of early Brāhmī epigraphs highly useful for the reconstruction of the political and socio-cultural history of the Deccan.

Of the inscriptions, the earliest in date are the records of the famous Mauryan ruler Aśoka covering the series included amongst his major Rock Edicts with some modifications. Discovered in 1989-90 on a slab fixed in a local medieval temple. Sannati version replaced the Rock Edict XIII, which records Aśoka's conquest of Kalinga, by special Edicts found at Dhauli and Jaugada in Orissa. Thus it is possible to infer that the area of Sannati was included in the Mauryan *vijita* almost around the same time when he

conquered the Kalingas, perhaps after defeating rulers of Sannati as well.

Other notable epigraphical records are connected with the Satavahana kings and furnish interesting evidence about the socio-political history of the period. In addition, Sannati has also yielded evidence pertaining to several memorial inscriptions recording setting-up of memorials for the dead by their associates and relatives. The system also seems to be in vogue in the north India as evidenced by the famous inscription of Dhanadeva (Ist century B.C) at Ayodhya. In this inscription the memorials for the dead, who appear to be Brahmans, are referred to as *ketana* (post or standard) a term which is also used at Sannati in the same sense.

Dr. Sarma and his coauthor have not only deciphered and read these inscriptions in detail but also analysed them to extract interesting historical data. Thus the book, I am sure, would be useful for scholars interested in the political and cultural histoy of the Deccan.

I congratulate Dr. I.K. Sarma and Shri J. Varaprasada Rao on this notable venture which opens a new chapter in the Cultural history of the Deccan.

M.C. JOSHI
Director General
Archaeological Survey of India
New Delhi

Preface

This monograph is an upto date compilation of the entire Epigraphical wealth from Sannati resulting out of the intensive explorations and sporadic excavations undertaken at this important ancient historical site in Chitapur taluk district Gulbarga North Karnataka, bordering Andhra Pradesh. The first part (I), is devoted to the Aśokan Edicts. This is based on the recent discovery of the Edicts on a granite slab within the Devī shrine (*Kāḷikāṁbā*) at the Chandralāṁbā Temple.

The two Edicts XII and XIV on the First Face (A) of the slab were discovered by Sarvashri R.V. Siva Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao on 20 January 1989, who recognised them as Aśokan Edicts for the first time. Again in the month of March, 1989 while carrying out the preservation works this very stone slab was reversed, on 16th March, the rear facet, the Second Face (B), has revealed two more records. The credit for this discovery goes to Sarvashri G.V.S. Rao and J. Varaprasada Rao of the Hyderabad Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. During this season (1989-90) the excavation works at this place were carried out by the Hyderabad Circle under the general guidance of Sri A.P. Sagar, Superintending Archaeologist. We are indeed thankful to Sri A.P. Sagar for prompt

supply of photographs and estampages of the records for study, while the second author has taken special care to record every minute detail and preserve the evidences in an excellent way. Śrī Jagatpati Joshi, Director General, ASI (retired) generously granted permission to publish the Edicts immediately. Dr. R.C. Sharma, Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta and Editor of the *Bulletin of Indian Museum* (now D.G., National Museum, New Delhi) readily agreed to include the paper on these Edicts at short notice. Thus the first two Edicts discovered in January, 1989, appeared under the title "Rock Edicts of Aśoka from Sannati, Chitapur taluk, Gulbarga District (Karnataka)", in *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXII, 1987, (Calcutta, 1989), pp. 7-15, within three months of discovery. Similarly in the month of April 1989, Sri Devendra Handa, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Punjab University, Chandigarh, who was editing a Festschrift for Sri R.C. Agrawal had readily accommodated the second paper on the Aśokan Edicts (SE-I and II) discovered in March, 1989. The paper was published in July, 1989 under the title "More Aśokan Edicts from Sannati (Karnataka)", in D. Handa (ed) *Ratna Chandrikā* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 403-417. All the four edicts together were also edited for the Telugu Literary monthly *Bhāratī*, Vol. 67 no. 1 (January, 1990), pp. 12-24. We are deeply beholden to all the above learned scholars, editors and publishers of the Journals who promptly obliged to include the above papers on the latest discoveries, even setting aside some other selected papers.

There may have been certain omissions and commissions with regard to the readings and interpretation of the texts in the above papers. In this work, we have corrected most of them. Yet we confess that our readings are tentative and subject to the scrutiny of the learned scholars. We welcome heartily any criticism and suggestions and would unhesitatingly acknowledge them in our future endeavours.

Prof. K.R. Norman, Faculty of Oriental Studies Cambridge in a letter dated 24.11.1989 to the first author made available his

valuable comments on the two published papers. His exhaustive and detailed note on each line of these Edicts is of immense value to the subject of Aśokan Studies. He has since published these details in a Paper "Aśokan Inscriptions from Sannati" in *South Asian Studies,* Vol. 7 (London, 1991), pp. 101-110. We have, therefore, placed the entire write up of Prof. Norman under Appendix-II B, and preceded it with the first readings of ours in Appendix-II A. We are thankful to Prof. Norman for his keen interest and prompt acknowledgement.

We are obliged to receive from Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director, Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, an article entitled "The Aśokan Inscriptions at Sannati" published in *Indian Historical Review,* Vol. XIV, nos. 1-2 (*ICHR,* New Delhi, 1990) pp. 34-42, after our editions appeared. We have given the readings of Dr. K.V. Ramesh under Appendix II–C. But it is highly disappointing to us that the *Epigraphical Society of India* has not taken note of these important discoveries. The Presidential Address given by Dr. G.S. Gai, a renowned Epigraphist himself, at the XVI Annual Session (1990) which subsequently appeared in the Journal (*JESI,* XVII, Mysore, 1991, pp. 1-11) omitted even a casual reference to the Sannati epigraphs, (why Aśokan, even the most significant Sātavāhana records?).

In view of the great importance of these latest discoveries to the scholarly world, we thought it appropriate to publish all the records together with good illustrations. Accordingly under Part-II, all other Brāhmī records of the early centuries of the Christian era are compiled. Sri M.C. Joshi, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, has not only welcomed the suggestion but contributed an erudite Foreword. We are deeply beholden to him. But for the help of various colleagues in the Survey, this work could not have seen the light of the day. Foremost were Sri Gehlot, Suptd. Archaeologist of the Hyderabad Circle, Sri Chenchuratnam, Draftsman Gr.I and Y. Krishna Rao, Stenographer for the ungruding help in the preparation of this monograph. Dr. K. P. Poonacha, Suptd. Archaeologist, Bangalore circle and Sri M.V. Visweswara

have very kindly provided photographs of their new epigraphical discoveries from the renewed explorations at the sites of Bhima valley around Sannati. We are thankful to Them.

At Delhi my colleagues Sri S.K. Sharma, Asstt. Archaeologist, Smt. C.K. Sanduja, P.A. and Shri R.L. Sehgal, Asstt. have assisted the authors very spontaneously. In particular Sri Manjit Singh, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, deserve our special thanks for bringing out the work within a record time. Sri C. B. Patil, Asstt. Archaeologist has kindly prepared the index and helped the authors in checking the manuscript.

Finally we dedicate this work to the memory of an illustrious trio:

Śrī Mallampalli Somaśēkhara Śarmā and Dr. Nelaṭūri Vēnkaṭa Ramaṇayya, the discoverers of Erragudi Edicts (*Bhāratī*, April, 1928 and *Bhāratī* Sept., 1929) and Dr. D.C. Sircar, the most erudite epigraphist of international repute whose inspiring narrative in *Early Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies* (Indian Museum, Calcutta, Monograph no. 8, 1977) is of permanent value to the students of Indian Epigraphy.

We feel highly rewarded if this work is found useful to the students and scholars alike interested in Indian Epigraphical Studies.

I. K. SARMA
J. VARAPRASADA RAO

List of Illustrations

Figures

1. Sannati and Environs
2. Sannati, Contour Map.
3. Chandralāṁbā Temple
   Devi (Kāḷikāmbā) Shrine
4. Aśokan Edicts in Andhra-Karṇāṭaka

Plates

Pl. 1 : Sannati, Devī Shrine
Pl. 2 : Sannati, Devī image (broken) Upper part.
Pl. 3 : Sannati, Devī image, Lower part (Chāmuṇḍi)
Circa 8th-9th Century A.D.
Pl. 4 : Sannati, Aśokan Edicts XII and XIV. Estampage
Pl. 5 : Sannati, Slab Face-A, Edicts XII and XIV.
Pl. 6 : Closer view of Edicts XII and XIV
Pl. 7 : Sannati, Part of Pīṭha slab (broken) with Aśokan Edicts

Face-B. Special Edicts I and II
Pl. 8 : Sannati, Aśokan Edicts Face-A, Estampage Aśokan Edicts XII, XIV
Pl. 9 : Sannati, Closer details, Face-B, Estampage Aśoka Edicts I and II
Pl. 10 : Dhauli, Text of Separate Rock Edict-I
Pl. 11 : Jaugada, Text of Separate Rock Edict-II
Pl. 12 : IA and IB, Find spot of the Inscribed stele of the time of Siri Sātakarṇi; Closer view of the Elephant sculpture.
Pl. 13 : IC, Closer view of the Inscription and Sculpture referring to Sri Sātakarṇi.
Pl. 14 : A-2, Inscription of the time of Vāśishṭhīputra Sri Sātakarṇi.
A-4 Inscription of Mahāsāthavāhana
Pl. 15 : A-3 Inscription of Śiva Śri Puḍmāvi
Pl. 16 : B-1 to B-3 Inscription of *amātyas* and other important personages of the Royal Household.
Pl.17-A : B-4 to B-7, Inscriptions of *amātyas* and other important personages (contd.)
Pl.17-B : B-8, Inscribed panel with *Chaitya* windows.
Pl. 18 : C-1 and C-2 Sculptured and Inscribed Memorials.
Pl. 19 : C-3 to C-5, Sculptured and Inscribed Memorials (contd.)
Pl. 20 : C-6 to C-9, Inscribed Memorials.

Pl.21-A : C-10 to C-13, Inscribed Memorials (contd.)
Pl.21-B : C-14, Sculptured Memorial for a couple.
Pl.22-A : D-1 to D-3, Inscriptions referring to Noblemen, Householders etc.
Pl.22-B : D-4 to D-7, Inscriptions referring to Noblemen (contd.)
Pl.23-A : E-12, Record referring to a Śramaṇa. D-8(a), A Sculptured panel with inscribed label.
Pl.23-B : D-8(b), Empty Bullock Cart with label inscription
Pl.24-A : D-8(c), Inscribed-sculptured slab with Bullock Cart in the lower panel.

Pl.24-B : Haigunda, Buddha Image (5th Century A.D.)
Pl. 25 : E-1 to E-6, Other Fragmentary Votive Inscriptions
Pl. 26 : E-7 to E-11 Other Fragmentary, Votive Inscriptions (contd.)
Pl. 27 : E-32; Fragmentary Inscription of Amācha
E-33; Sculptured panel with inscription
Pl. 28 : Hampi, West of King's Audience Hall, Sculptured Lime stone Cornice beam piled up in the debris of late Vijayanagara times (15th-16th century A.D.)
Pl. 29 : Hampi, Sculptured cornice beam, Amaravati School (2nd century A.D.)
Pl. 30 : Sannati, Nāga Muchalinda slab
Pl. 31 : Sannati, Buddhapādas
Pl. 32 : Kadri, Bronze Lokeśvara
Pl. 33 : Kadri, Mañju Śri
Pl. 34 : Kadri, Buddha.

Part I

Aśokan Edicts from Sannati

Aśokan Edicts from Sannati

I. Introduction

Sannati[1] (Lat. 16°49′ N; Long. 76° 54′ E) in Chitapur taluk, District Gulbarga was recognised as a Buddhist site ever since its first discovery by Kapatral[2] Krishna Rao of Gulbarga in the year 1954. This remote village on the left bank of the river Bhīmā, a tributary of Kṛishṇa, is approachable through a rugged road to a distance of 50 Km. north-west of Yadgir and 200 Km. south-west of Hyderabad (*Fig.* 1). It is about 40 Km. from Chitapur-Nalwar R.S. on the Wadi-Secunderabad line. The village is famous as a pilgrim centre on account of the temple dedicated to Chandralāṁbā on the river bank which takes a northernly turn. The goddess is also named as *Chaṇḍāla Paramēśvarī,* apparently a *Śāktaic* deity. According to a *Sthala Purāṇa,* Rāma and Sītā were born as sage Nārāyaṇa and Chandravadana who later became Chandrāṁbā. A king named Setu[3] tried to molest Sītā but perished by her curse. It is curious to note that the fortified area in Sannati is locally called *Seturājana kaṭṭe* regarded by K.V. Ramesh as the corruption of an ancient appellation for *Sātavāhana kōṭe* meaning the fort of the *Sātavāhanas.*[4]

Explorations were carried out by the Department of Archaeology, Mysore in the year 1964-65 under M. Seshadri who published an account[5] on the site. Subsequently, P.B. Desai of Karnataka University, Dharwad, conducted further explorations in February 1968[6] and noted the place as "the biggest Buddhist Centre in Karnataka".

Apart from the extensive fortification the brick walls surviving at places to a height of four metres and about three metres wide, along the banks of the river Bhīmā, starting from Sannati at one end to the village Kanaganahaḷḷi on the other, the place has been archaeologically very potential with at least two big mounds nearly two km. away from the fortified area (*Fig.* 2). These mounds were generally regarded as *Stūpas*. The one nearer to the river zone is spoiled to the ground with a lot of sculptured and inscribed members of lime stone,[7] while the other, somewhat nearer to the temple area is being excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India in collaboration with James Howell,[8] Research Fellow, Society for South Asian Studies from the year 1986-87 onward for three seasons. A. Sundara,[9] Former Director, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Karnataka, conducted a small scale probe between December, 1986 and May, 1987 closer to the fortified site. This fortified area is about 86-hectares in extent with brick fortification walls in ruins divided into two parts.[10]

Devī (Kāḷikāṁbā) Shrine (*Fig.* 3)

This small unit has on plan, a square *garbhagṛiha* and *antarāla* leading to a *mahā maṇḍapa* on a row of pillars with the central *ankaṇa*, demarcated by four ornate pillars. The periphery has *kakshāsana* platform, the top course of which is missing. The pillars are of later Kalyāṇi Chāḷukyan type. The sanctum which is square, faces north and is preserved only by its *padma jagatī*. Its mouldings partly reveal the nature of the upper elevational members including the *adhishṭhāna* part. It appears that *kōshṭha* arrangement existed at the three cardinal slots of the temple wall. Since the *jagatī* part only is

extant and the rest has fallen down (*Pl.* 1), we cannot visualise the shape of the *śikhara*. The Temple Committee is now engaged in rebuilding it after totally dismantling these members. The broken image of Chāmuṇḍa on stylistic grounds can be assigned to the Nolaṁba period, circa 8th-9th century A.D. The massive figure is that of a seated Devī, four handed—right one broken, while the upper left holds a *triśūla* with a demon's head on top, the lower hand carries a bowl (*kapāla*) in the palm which rests on the thigh. The garland of skulls and *nāga keyūras* (serpentine armlets) emphasize her *śāktic* nature (*Pls.* 2 & 3).

II. Discovery of the Edicts

Basing on the first hand report communicated by G.V.S. Rao, Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, Hyderabad Circle on 2nd February, 1989 and after a telephonic confirmation from A.P. Sagar, Superintending Archaeologist, Hyderabad Circle, the first author availed the earliest opportunity to visit the site accompanied by them. An eye copy of the inscription prepared by R.V. Siva Sarma, Assistant Superintending Archaeologist and J. Varaprasada Rao, Assistant Archaeologist both of the Hyderabad Circle, was made available at Hyderabad on 5th February, 1989. The above two officials have recognised the records as those issued by Aśoka on 20th January, 1989 itself though the completeness and the form of certain letters, the reading thereupon, were not fully attested due to lack of reference books at the excavation camp. It may be recalled that in the year 1988, during a surface exploration in the Raṇamaṇḍala site within the fortified area, A.P. Sagar, Superintending Archaeologist discovered (12th January, 1988) a granite stone bearing Mauryan polish and registered it as an antiquity (vide No. 367 SAN-2 dated 14-1-1988). No attempt has, however, been made to excavate within fortified area although an early phase of occupation as that of circa third-second century B.C. date was anticipated. The size of bricks (54x27x9cm., 47x24x8cm.) noted in and around the fortified area also confirmed this hypothesis. It is, therefore, not very surprising that an inscribed slab of Mauryan date is discovered now (*Pl.* 4).

It appears that the Temple Committee has decided to renovate the Devī Shrine (*Kāḷikāṁbā)* of the main temple complex which was partly in ruins. Since the old image of Mahākāḷi here was broken into bits, a proposal for reconsecrating the shrine with a new image was under active consideration. As such, the temple authorities initiated the removal of loose stones, overhanging pillars and fallen beams. These were mostly of granite and local lime stone. In this clearance work the pedestal stone laid on the floor of the shrine was cleared along with its *nālika*. During this time, R.V. Siva Sarma and J.Varaprasada Rao who were present at the site noticed partly the inscription on the pedestal and prepared an eye copy. S.R. Rao, the noted Archaeologist, a devotee of Goddess Chandralāṁbā happened to visit the temple on 29th January, 1989, saw the inscribed stone and reported to the Press at Bangalore. "The characters in 10-line inscription on a slab resembled either Aśokan Brāhmī or slightly later but undoubtedly of pre-Chāḷukyan period.[11] However, the two technical officers of Hyderabad Circle have already noticed 12-lines in all and made an eye copy. The concluding part was clearly read by them as "*iyaṁ dhamma lipi devānaṁ piyeṇa*". Hence, there is no doubt that the credit of discovery of this Aśokan record squarely goes to R.V. Siva Sarma and J.Varaprasada Rao of the Hyderabad Circle.

Be that as it may, immediate measures were initiated to preserve the stone slab by removing the same from its later historical use as a *pīṭha* for the Devī. During this work, G.V. Srinivasa Rao, Deputy Superintending Archaeologist and J. Varaprasada Rao, Assistant Archaeologist both of the Hyderabad Circle, noticed few more inscriptions on the rear face of the slab (Face-B) while attempting to shift it to the cloister of the temple for proper upkeep. While doing so the broken parts of the big slab got separated into three pieces. The inscriptions over this face revealed in three sections, two more Aśokan edicts (*Pl.* 5). The major record which occupied the central portion in 18-lines is recognised as Special Edict II. A few letters corresponding to these very lines are preserved at

the extreme left margin of the slab. Being mutilated and the text survived by only a few words, it was not possible for us to make out full meaning of these words. Yet there is no doubt that this formed part of the special Edict I and fairly agreed with the known Kalinga version.

Unique Among the Aśokan Edicts

Since both the broad faces of the stone contained the inscribed records, there is no doubt that this huge slab measuring 2.33x1.21 metres and 30 cm. thick, might have originally been a stele placed vertically in position within a structural set up. The historical reasons, the context behind such an installation proclaiming the *Dharmā* at Sannati, remain to be speculative, till a major clearance followed by systematic excavation is undertaken at the place. Its original locus could not be far away. Careful and planned excavation within the temple area is, therefore, a necessity. The temple is over an ancient mound with clear evidences of an extensive early historic settlement of Mauryan date. But one thing is clear that this inscribed stele does not come under the known types of Aśokan edicts (MRE, RE and PE) but forms a separate class by itself, perhaps a *dharmma śilā* like the '*Śilāphalakāni*' cited in the Delhi-Topara Edict VII. From this very edict we learn that *Rājukas* were ordained to preach the message to people. According to the Special Rock Edicts (Kalinga versions), and the Pillar Edict V (26th regnal year 245-244 B.C.), the *mahāmātras*[12] were specially called upon to read out the edicts on *Tishya nakshatra* corresponding to the full moon day of the month of *Pushya* (the *janmanakshatra* of Aśoka), and on every *chaturmāsi* day *i.e.* the last day of every fourth month, corresponding to the full moon day of the month of *āshāḍha* (July-August), *Kārttika* (November-December), and *Phālguṇa* (March-April) respectively.

Another point that deserves mention is that, while at Dhauli and Jaugada, the Special Rock Edicts were issued in place of Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII, at Sannati among the extant records Edict XII is available. It is reasonable to expect here the edicts XI and XIII too. Thus we may regard that Sannati had the full complement of the

fourteen Edicts, besides the Special Edicts I and II. Late D.C. Sircar numbered the Special Rock Edict of Kalinga as Edict XV and XVI. It is interesting to note that in Rock Edict XIV Aśoka declared his intention to promulgate more edicts on *Dharmma*. It appears that the issue of Special Rock Edicts in Kalinga, as also of Sannati, was accomplished sometime afţer 262 B.C. which is the date of issue of the Fourteen Edicts. *Inter alia* the set up of the inscribed stele at Sannati was perhaps undertaken between the years 263-262 B.C.

From the tenor of the lines, it appears that the inscriptions were engraved after installation of the stele in vertical position. This is apparent from the irregular spacing between the letters, varying sizes of the letters, lack of horizontality in each line, particularly in the upper part and irregular space left at the lower region on both the faces of the stele (*Pls*. 6 & 7).

III. The Inscriptions over the Pīţha Slab (*Pls*. 4-9)

This big slab of brown granite was perhaps severed from its original rock boulder whose locus remains to be ascertained. This massive stele is a flattish rectangular piece. The rough cut mark at both ends and the slot in the centre were perhaps later tamperings without any awareness of the inscriptions (its script or language), by the builders of the temple during early medieval period. The sequential order of the edicts edited here follows the order of discovery and not based on the original intent of the issuer.

The demarcating incised horizontal lines at the two places of the text (*Pls*. 5 & 6) and the chisel grooves at the terminal end of the record indicate that the other Edicts, I to XIII except XII, may have been carved on the upper top and right sides of the bigger slab, the original locus of which may not be far removed, because of its unwieldy size and weight, from the Chandralāṁbā temple complex. Several granite as well as lime stone carved slabs have been found used within the structures of temple complex chiselled out of the

nearby boulders and outcrops. Even on the opposite bank of the river Bhīmā, a careful search of these granite outcrops might be very rewarding. It may also be that like the rock edicts at Erragudi, the texts may have been carved on more than one boulder although closer to each other.[13] A thorough scrutiny is imperative to obtain the remaining parts. We have provided here the translations with the help of full texts available from other known edicts for easy cross reference and study. At the outset we would like to clarify on certain remarks made by K.R. Norman on the illustrations accompanying the articles published by us earlier. To quote[14] "Unfortunately in Dr. Sarma's plates someone has marked with paint or ink what they thought were the correct readings. This has led to the appearance of a number of misleading *aksharas*". Yet in another place[15] "touched-up" photographs etc.

These observations are baseless, to say the least, and the published photographs were taken at the time of retrieval of the *Pīṭha* slab from its original place. The granite surface is dull and smoky in colour with brownish streaks and to obtain a good contrast the lettered surfaces were dusted with chalk powder (*Pl.* 5). This gave a clear contrast to each of the letter forms and the result was admirable. There was no need for a "touch-up" exercise or marking with paint or ink to obtain correct reading. That was never an Indian practice. After all the records are open for examination of the interested scholars at any time. However, Prof. Norman himself is fully aware of the difficulties fraught in preparing photographs of inscriptions when he says "One problem which bedevils inscriptional studies, and Aśokan studies no less than any other field, is that what is legible on one set of photographs may for various reasons, including perhaps the skill of the photographer, the lighting, the shadow, etc., be doubtful or even completely illegible on another. Even in the case of identical photographs, variations in the printing process can lead to variations in the quality of the print of the photograph".

(A) The First Face (*Pls.* 5, 6 and 8)

It contains in all twelve lines. The upper eight lines and the lower four are separated by a short horizontal stroke at the left margin indicating that they are two different edicts. The ridged border and the sizing of the rock to prepare the *nālika* (water chute) has caused serious damage to the letters of the text. The beginnings in some lines and the right extent of the inscribed part are badly damaged as a result, the full text of the existing edicts cannot be made out. The writing is somewhat indifferent. The lines are not straight but leaning towards left though the letters are quite boldly carved. The rocks, after engraving the letters are subjected to polish, the traces of which can be felt . The letter forms recall those on the Erragudi Rock Edicts, and also of the other Minor Rock Edicts I-II of Nittur and Udegolam etc.

The extant record on this face is incomplete, as the slab is broken at either sides, but does provide some clues for identification and proper assignment. The text is in 12-lines of *Brāhmī* characters of the Aśokan times, the language being *Prākṛit*. In line-9, the clear mention "*iyaṁ dhamma lipi devānaṁ piyeṇa*" is enough to assign the edict to Aśoka. In the available portions, however, there is no mention of the personal name of Aśoka.

(1) Text: Edict-XII (lines 1-8)

(1) ...p*ā*...*lana*...
(2) ...*ākā (-) nā he*...
(3) ...*taṁ aṁta pāsaḍa cha chha*...*la pāsa*...
(4) ...*galahati save atapāsaḍa*...*kita a*...
(5) ...*t(i) ata pāsaṁḍaṁ sesamavāyeva sa*...
(ma)--ma (su) navucha...
(6) ...*sa(va) Pāsaṁḍa bahu sutā*[16] *cha kayānāgama*...
(7) *va maṁnātiṁ atha kiti sālavadhi (sa)*...*Ka*...
(8) *mahāmāta vacha rājimikā*[17]...*a nedhani*...

Translation (Full Text)

(1) King Priyadarśin, beloved of Gods, honours men of all religious communities.
(2) Both with gifts and with honours of various kinds (irrespective of whether they are ascetics or house-holders).
(3) But the beloved of Gods does not value either the (offering of) gifts or the honouring (of people) so (highly) as the following, *viz.*, that there should be a growth of the essentials of *Dharmā* among men of all sects.
(4) But a promotion of the essentials (in *Dharmā* is possible) in many ways its root is thus guarding (one's) speech, that neither praising one's own sect or disparagement of other sects should take place.
(5) It should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions.
(6) If one is acting this, he is promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects
(7) If a person acts otherwise (he) not only injures his own sect very severally but also harms other sects.
(8) All (this) out of devotion to his own sect with a view to glorifying his own sect if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect severally.
(9) Therefore, concord alone is meritorious *i.e.* they should both hear and obey each others morals. For this is the desire of *Devānāṁpriyā* that all sects.
(10) Become well informed and acquire pure knowledge of the doctrine and those who are attached to their respective (sects) out to be spoken to (as follows). *Devānāṁpriyā* does not value either the (offering of) gifts or honouring the people) so highly as the following.
(11) That promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place and many officers are occupied for this purpose, the *mahāmātras* in-charge of *dharmā'* the *mahāmātras* in-charge of the (matters relating to) ladies.

(12) The officers in-charge of (my cattle and) pasture lands and other classes (of officials). And the result of their acts is the promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of *Dharmā*.

(2). Text: Edict XIV (lines 1-4)

(1) *iyaṁ dhaṁma lipi Devānaṁpiyeṇa*[18]*...vasa...*
(2) *no hisavati sava ghati (te)...*
(3) *tasa tasa a (-) sa mādhuliyaye...(jane) tatha(...)...*
(4) *kālanaṁ va ālochayatu lipa (i) kalāpa (lā) dhavata*

Translation (Full Text)

(1) This record relating to *Dharmā* has been caused to be written by king *Devānāṁpriyā* beloved of Gods.
(2) Either in abridged (form) or of middle (size) or at full length.
(3) And the whole was not suitable everywhere.
(4) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall certainly cause still a lot (more) to be written.
(5) And (some) of this has been stated again and again owing to their sweetness, so that people may act accordingly.
(6) Thus there may be some (topic) which have been written incompletely either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked or owing to a fault of the scribe.

(B) The Second Face: (*Pls.* 7and9)

The characters of the record on the reverse face are closer to the ones discovered on the (A) First Face and somewhat better preserved because the slab was buried under the soil and not affected by human activity. The text, is, therefore, better preserved.

The content of the major record which occupies the central portion of the stele is very similar to the Separate Rock Edict II found at Jaugada, District Ganjam, Orissa. A version of this Separate Rock

Edict was also found at Dhauli in Puri District along with separate Rock Edict I. D.C. Sircar[19] regarded this separate Kalinga edict as Rock Edict XV. Though numbered as Separate Rock Edict II in the sequence this is actually the first one to be carved. In the Sannati record, minor textual variations can be noted. There is no mention of the epithet *devānaṁ piyā* or *piyadaśi lājā etc.* but reference to *mahāmātra* (line 14) is seen and the name of the king is also not mentioned. But in Jaugada version, besides the *devānāṁpiya* a viceroy named *Samāpa*[20] was also cited.

In Kalinga country (Dhauli and Jaugada) the Separate Rock Edicts are issued in place of Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII. While at Sannati we know about Edicts XII and XIV clearly but the rest are fragmentary in nature. Presently they could not be satisfactorily identified too.

(3) Portions of the Special Edict I (*Pls 7* and 9)

The extant letters of this Edict are very few and do not give any scope for a full study of the text. It is clear that the upper part and also quite a big part of the slab on the left side were severed for shaping the *pīṭha*. Thus a large portion of the record is lost, both at the beginning, on top and also on the side of the slab. The mortise hole has cut off some crucial words at the terminal portion of the inscription also.

A comparison of the published texts of the two Separate Rock Edicts of Kalinga (specially Jaugada), reveals some closeness of the words and expressions. We have provided here the text and translation of the Kalinga version of this special Edict below for comparative study and cross reference.

Text[21]

1. ...*taviya*
2. ...*aṁṇano*

3. ...*dhī Devānaṁ*
4. ...*kū--rā*. . .
5. ...*dhi*
6. ... ...
7. ... ...
8. ... *ta* ...
9. ... *chakaraṁtaṁ*
10. ... *athā* ...
11. ... *lo* ...
12. ... *nasa* ...
13. ... *chagala* ...
14. ... *khā karaṁ* ...*ka*...
15. ... *yeva athā*...*va vaga(ṁ) nikhame*—(slot) *ni atikame sati*
16. *sapāna na* ... *payitu atane* (slot) *nisaṁtitaṁ pihevāka*
17. *sathiti*.....

Full Text and Translation

Separate Rock Edict I, Dhauli

(*After E. Hultzch, CII, I, pp. 92-97*)

(*Pl.* 10)

1. **(A)** (Devāna)ṁ(pi)y(asavacha)nenaTosaliyaṁ ma(hā)māta (naga)la(v)i(yo)hālak(ā)
2. (va)taviya **(B)** (aṁ kichhi dakhā)mi hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k(i)ṁ(t)i kaṁ(mana pa)ṭi(pāday)ehaṁ
3. duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ **(C)** esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā(la etasi aṭha)si aṁ tuph(esu)
4. anusathi **(D)** tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesuṁ ā(yata) p(a)na(yaṁ ga)chh(e)ma su munisānaṁ **(E)** save
5. munise pajā mamā **(F)** ath(ā) pajāye ichhāmi h(a)ka(ṁ kiṁti sa)ve(na hi)ta-sukhena hidalo(kika)
6. pālalokike(na) y(ūjev)ū (t)i (tathā...muni)sesu pi(i)chhāmi (ha)ka(ṁ) **(G)** no cha pāpunātha āv(a)ga–
7. (m)u(k)e (iyaṁ aṭhe) **(H)** (k)e(chha) v(a) eka-puli(se)...nāti e(ta)ṁ se pi desaṁ no savaṁ **(I)** de(kha)t(a hi t)u(phe) etaṁ

8. suvi(hi)tā pi **(J)** (n)itiyaṁ eka-pulise (pi athi) y(e) baṁdhanaṁ vā p(a)likilesaṁ vā pāpunāti **(K)** tata hoti
9. akasmā tena badhana(ṁ)tik(a) aṁne cha...hu jane da(v)iye dukhīyati **(L)** tata ichhitaviye
10. tuphehi kiṁti m(a)jhaṁ paṭipādayemā ti **(M)** imeh(i) chu (jāteh)i no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena
11. ni(ṭhū)liyena tūlanā(ya) anāvūtiya ālasiyena k(i)lamathena **(N)** se ichhitaviye kitiṁ ete
12. (jātā no) huvevu ma(m)ā ti **(O)** etasa cha sava(sa) mūle anāsulope a(tū)l(a)nā cha **(P)** niti(ya)ṁ e kilaṁte siyā
13. (na) te uga(chha) saṁchalitaviy(e) tu va(ṭ)ita(v)iy(e) etaviye vā **(Q)** hevaṁmeva e da(kheya) t(u)phāk(a) tena vataviye
14. ānaṁne dekhata hevaṁ cha hev(a)ṁ cha (D)evānaṁpiyasa anusathi **(R)** se mah(ā-pha)le (e) t(a)sa (saṁpa)ṭipāda
15. mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati **(S)** (vi)paṭ(i)pādayamine hi etaṁ nathi svagasa (ā)l(a)dhi no lāj(ā)la(dh)i
16. **(T)** duā(ha)le hi i(ma)sa kaṁm(asa) m(e) kute man(o) atileke **(U)** sa(ṁ)paṭi pajam(i)n(e) chu (etaṁ) svaga(ṁ)
17. ālādha(yi)sa(tha mama cha ā)naniyaṁ ehatha **(V)** iyaṁ cha l(i)p(i) t(i)sana(kha)tena so(ta)viy(ā)
18. **(W)** aṁta(l)ā (p)i cha (t)i(s)e(na kha)nasi kha(nas)i ekena pi sotaviya **(X)** hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe
19. chaghatha saṁpa(ti)pād(a)y(i)tave **(Y)** (e)t(ā)ye aṭhāye iya(ṁ l)i(p)i likhit(a h)ida ena
20. nagala-vi(y)o(hā)lakā sas(v)ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū t(i)...(na)sa akasmā (pa)libodhe va
21. (a)k(a)smā paliki(l)e(s)e va no siyā ti **(Z)** etāye cha aṭhāye haka(ṁ)...mate p(a)ṁchasu paṁchasu (va)se
22. su (n)i(khā)may(i)sāmi e akhakhase a(chaṁ)ḍ(e) s(a)khinālaṁbhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jāniṭu...(ta)thā
23. kala(ṁ)ti atha mama anusathī ti **(AA)** Ujanito pi chu kumāle etāye v(a) aṭhāye (ni)khāma(yisa)...
24. hedisameva vapaṁ no cha atikamayisati tiṁni vasāni **(BB)** hemeva T(a)kha(s)ilāto pi **(CC)** (a)dā a...
25. te mahāmātā nikhamisaṁti anusayānaṁ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṁmaṁ etaṁ pi jānisaṁti

26. taṁ pi ta(th)ā kalaṁti a(tha) lājine anusathī ti.

Translation

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāṁpriya**, the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali**, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, *viz.* (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of (all) men.

(G) And you do not learn how far this (my) object reaches.

(H) Some single person only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention on this, although you are well provided for.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not

arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you: ˇSee that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king); such and such is the instruction of **Dēvānāṁpriya'.**

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.

(S) For if one fails to observe this, there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (*viz*) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this), (that) neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to (men).

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years (a *Mahāmātra*) who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (*viz.* in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers), paying attention to this object,...are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from **Ujjayinī** also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose...a person of the same description, and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from **Takshaśilā** also.

(CC) When...these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (*viz*) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

(4) Text: Special Edict II (*Pls.* 7 and 9)

1. *...anuviga (i)...*
2. *...sevu cha sukhameva cha labhavu...*
3. *...yena cha hevaṁ pāpunevu rājā nekhama(i)...*
4. *ye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ va dhaṁmaṁ charevu hida*
5. *cha paralokaṁ cha āradhayevu (4) etāya cha aṭhāya hakaṁ tuphe...*
6. *anusāsāmi ananō hakaṁ tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha ditu*
7. *yāhi mama dhīti paṭiṁnācha achalā sāti hevaṁ kaṭukaṁ me charitaviye*
8. *āsvāsetaviyā cha teyena cha te heva(ṁ) pāpunevu athā pita hevaṁ*
9. *rājā yathā cha atānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ apheniya*
10. *chakaṁpajā hevaṁ mayi se hakaṁ (5) tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha*
11. *tu desāvutike etasi aṭhasi hohāmi alaṁhi tuphe āsvāsanāye*
12. *hita sukhāye cha tesaṁ hidalokikā paralokikāye etaṁ chha hevaṁ*
13. *karaṁtaṁ svagaṁ cha ārodhesātha mama cha ānaniyaṁ ehatha (6) etā*
14. *...ya iyaṁ lipi hida likhitā athā mahamata sasvatam*
15. *...yu jevu āsvāsaniyā dhaṁma charanāya cha aṁtā*
16. *cha lipi anuchātuṁāsi sota(vi)yā ti seni aṁtarāpi*
17. *hi khanasa khana(si)* SLOT** *....taviyā heva(ṁ)*
18. *...ghata Saṁpaṭi* SLOT** ...

** Missing text

Full Text and Translation
Special Edict II, Jaugada
(After E. Hultzch, CII, I, pp. 115-118)
(Pl. 11)

1. **(A) Devānaṁpiye** hevaṁ ā(ha) **(B) Samāpāyaṁ** mahamatā l(ā)ja-vachanik(a) vataviyā **(C)** aṁ kichhi dakh(ā)mi hakaṁ taṁ i(chh)āmi hakaṁ k(iṁ)ti kaṁ kamana
2. paṭipātayehaṁ duvā(la)te cha ālabhehaṁ **(D)** esa cha me mokhiya-mat(a) duvāl(a) etasa a(tha)sa a(ṁ) t(uph)esu anusa(thi) **(E)** sava-muni-
3. sā me pajā **(F)** atha pajāy(e) ichhāmi kiṁti me saveṇā hita-su(kh)ena yu(je)yū (a)tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṁ(ti) m(e) savena hita-su-
4. kh(e)na yujeyū ti hidalogika-pālaloki(k)e(ṇa) hevaṁmeva me ichha savamunisesu **(G)** siyā aṁtānaṁ (a)vijitā-
5. naṁ kiṁ-chhāṁde su lājā aphesū ti **(H)** etākā(vā) me ichha (a)ṁtesu pāpuneyu lājā hevaṁ ichh(a)ti anu(v)i(g)ina hve(yū)
6. mamiyāye (a)svaseyu cha me sukhaṁ(m)ev(a) cha lahey(ū) mamate (n)o kha(ṁ) hevaṁ cha pāpuneyu kha(m)i(sa)ti ne lājā
7. e s(a)kiye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ cha dhaṁma(ṁ) chaley(ū) ti hidalog(aṁ) cha palalogaṁ cha ālādhayey(ū) **(I)** etāye
8. cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana(ne eta)kena (ha)kaṁ tupheni a(nu)sāsitu chhaṁda(ṁ cha) vedi-
9. (t)u ā mama dhiti paṭiṁnā cha achala **(J)** sa hevaṁ (ka)ṭū k(aṁ)me (cha)litaviye asvāsa(n)iyā ch(a)te en(a) te pāpune-
10. yu a(th)ā pita (h)evaṁ (n)e lājā ti atha (a)tānaṁ anukaṁpat(i he)vaṁ a(ph)eni anuka(ṁpa)ti athā pajā he-
11. vaṁ (may)e lā(j)ine **(K)** tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita (chh)āṁdaṁ (cha v)e(di)ta (ā ma)ma dhiti paṭi(ṁ)nā chā achala (saka)la-
12. desā-āy(ut)ike hosāmī et(a)si (a)thas(i) **(L)** (a)laṁ (h)i tuphe asvāsa(nā)ye hi(ta) sukhāye (cha te)sa(ṁ) hida-

13. logi(ka)-p(ā)lal(o)ki(k)ā(y)e **(M)** hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svaga(ṁ cha ā)lādhayisa(tha) mama cha āna(n)eyaṁ es(a)tha **(N)** e-
14. tāye cha a(th)āye i(ya)ṁ lipī li(kh)i(ta hi)da e(na ma)h(ā)mātā sāsvataṁ samaṁ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
15. dhaṁma-chala(nā)ye (cha) aṁtā(na)ṁ **(O)** iyaṁ cha lipī a(nu)ch(ā)tuṁ(m)āsaṁ s(ota)viyā tisena **(P)** aṁta(lā) pi cha sotaviyā
16. **(Q)** khane saṁtaṁ eke(nɔ) pi (sota)v(i)yā **(R)** heva(ṁ) cha (ka)laṁ(ta)ṁ chaghatha saṁpaṭipātayit(av)e.

Translation

(A) **Dēvānāṁpriya** speaks thus.
(B) The *Mahāmātras* at Samāpa have to be told (this) at the word of the king.
(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.
(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, *viz.* (to give) instruction to you.
(E) All men are my children.
(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.
(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'
(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

(I) And for the following purpose, I am instructing you, (*viz.*, that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, *i.e.* (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence, in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own children).

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, *i.e.* (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (*i.e.* maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (*viz*) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

IV. Other Features (Script, Language and Grammar)

The characters employed in the above edicts of Sannati are *Brāhmī* and do not display any special features. They recall the writing of the major rock edicts of Erragudi, District Kurnool (A.P.) and the Separate Rock Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada in Orissa in phonology and morphology.[22]

The language is *Māgadhī-Prākrit* and agrees generally with the Aśokan Edicts of Dhauli, Jaugada on one hand and Erragudi and Kalsi version on the other. More significantly the Special Edicts retain the Sanskrit *ra* in all the cases instead of *la* whereas in Dhauli and Jaugada Edicts it is *la,* as in *Māgadhī* dialect.[23]

Examples are:

rājā in line-3;
Charevu in line-4;
Paralokaṁ and *ārāḍhayevu* in line-5;
Charitaviye in line-7;
Karaṁtaṁ for *Kalaṁtaṁ* in line-13;
antarāpi for *aṁtalāpi* in line-6

This shows that the composer and writer might be local person different from the composers of the other Edicts. As pointed out by K.V. Ramesh[24] the diction of Sannati Special Edict reveals significant departures from the Kalinga versions. *ṇa* ending in *Devānāṁpiyeṇa* in line-1 of Edict XIV, is noteworthy.

Vowels: Initial vowels are dropped for example (Special Edict II) *hakaṁ* for *āhakaṁ* in line-6, *ti* for *iti*. The vowel *u* is elided *hveyu* for *huveyu*. Final vowel is shortened. *Mahāmāta* (line-14) *athā* for *atha, tatha* for *tathā, pita* for *pitā* etc. Reduplication of consonants: It is observed in a single case only and repeatedly noticed in Dhauli and Jaugada[25] Separate Rock Edict. The *Svarabhaktī* is intended here as the use of long *ā* in these examples is beyond doubt.

āsvāsetaviyā in line-8; *āsvāsanāya* in lines-11, 15 and *sāsvataṁ sva* in line= 14; all in Special Edict II.
sva instead of *śva*
svagaṁ in line-13 may be noted.

In all cases the two sibilliants *śa, sha* are marked by *sa* throughout, *ha* is prefixed in *hida, hata, hevaṁ* (lines 8, 9). Semi-vowel

ya is replaced by *va*. See *avutike* (line-11).
aradhayevu in line-5; *charevu, pāpunevu,* line-8,
Yujevu and *huvevu* in Special Edict II etc. The occurrence of *huvevu,* also at Dhauli, shows that the form is the third plural optative of *huv*.

V. Significance of the Records

It is well known that Aśoka caused Minor Rock Edicts along the bordering territories of the Mauryan Empire for the benefit of the people living outside his empire. We have a concentration of Minor Rock Edicts in Northern Karṇaṭāka at the following places (*Fig.* 4) Nittur, Udegolam on Tungabhadra river in Siraguppa taluk District Bellary, Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jating-Rameswara District Chitradurga; Maski, Gavimath and Palkigundu of Raichur and the present epigraph from Sannati, District Gulbarga, is almost at the extreme north of the state touching Andhra. In South India, it was only at Erragudi in District Kurnool (Andhra Pradesh) that Aśoka caused the Rock Edicts[26] (I to IV), by the side of the Minor Rock Edicts. However, "a remarkable difference is noticed between the Minor Rock Edicts on the one hand and the Rock Edicts on the other." This seems to be due to the fact that the two sets of edicts were received at the place separately on different occasions and dates.[27] Brahmagiri and Siddapur Minor Rock Edicts contain a reference to the presence of Aśoka himself in Suvarṇagirī which appears to be a sub-capital for the southern part of Aśokan Empire. Aśoka advises through his *Mahāmātras* to follow up the proclamations made during his tour. At Suvarṇagirī, besides an *Āyaputa, Mahāmātras* were stationed. *Āyaputa* is the prince of the Royal Family, though this could refer to king himself. H. Krishna Sastry[28] identified Suvarṇagirī with the country around Maski but D.C. Sircar[29] has pointed out "Suvarṇagirī may have stood in the vicinity of Erragudi". C.R. Krishnamacharyulu[30] long ago has identified this as the present village of Jonnagiri, a Telugu modification of *Prākritic, 'Sonnagiri' i.e.* Sanskrit, *Suvarṇagirī*.

The Rock Edicts I to XIV at Erragudi were executed on more than[31] one boulder, (A, C, D, E) whereas Minor Rock Edicts I and II were on a single boulder (F) at the lower level of the hillock. There is no doubt that Minor Rock Edicts were caused (264 B.C.) earlier by the Mauryan king for the outlying areas.

In the light of the versions of Edicts XII and XIV now recovered at Sannati, we may say that at least the Gulbarga area on the river Bhīmā was within the Aśokan Empire under the charge of a *Mahāmātra,* whereas Erragudi and Jonnagiri (Suvarṇagirī) served as head-quarters of the southern part of the empire with an *Āryaputra* (Prince) at its behest. Moreover Rājulamandagirī[32] where southern version of Minor Rock Edict I and III were also found is about 30 Km. north of Erragudi. The toponym is of great significance. It literally means, a hill (*girī*) where a group (*manda*) of kings (*Rājulu*) congregated, perhaps during Aśoka's southern sojourns. According to Brahmagiri and Siddapur Minor Rock Edict I and II, Aśoka spent 256 nights on tour. It is quite in fitness of things to regard 'Rājulamandagirī' as the place where the Mauryan King Aśoka presided over a conference of local kings before issue of the Rock Edicts. The selection of places, particularly in the Deccan, for issue of Rock Edicts as at Erragudi (Kurnool) and now at Sannati, District Gulbarga, closely bordering Andhra clearly show that these territories were annexed (*Vijita*) by Aśoka some time after the issue of Minor Rock Edicts. The present discovery of Aśokan Edicts at Sannati assumes greater significance as the extensive fortified area is called *Raṇamaṇḍala* (war field). It remains now to be archaeologically proved whether this fortified area itself was the war-field which was perhaps finally annexed by the Mauryan king necessitating the issue of fourteen Edicts and more specifically the Special Edicts I and II.

It is well known that Minor Edicts of South India (Andhra-Karnataka) were intended for the edification and guidance of independent peoples outside the Aśokan realm. The Rock Edicts, however, enunciate broad ethical principles and guidelines of the

emperor underlying his administrative policy for the border inhabitants of his empire.

The separate Kalinga Edicts[33] contain the rules made by Aśoka for the pacification of the territory annexed after the sanguinary war which transformed the monarch. These were issued in c. 263-262 B.C. after placing the territories under the charge of Viceroys both at Tosali and Suvarṇagirī. The present Special Edicts of Sannati assume greater significance. In the absence of any such record at Erragudi or any other known place of "Andhra-Karnataka", it is clear that the area of Kurnool and now Sannati were territories annexed by Aśoka and brought within his empire. Thereby stationing a viceroy and issue of fourteen Edicts and two Special Edicts became a necessity.

Notes and References

1. The place name in the topo-sheet 56/D is Santhi, while in the published accounts the spelling is variously Sannati, Sannathi and colloquially Sonthi. We have retained the popular spelling *Sannati* here.
2. Kapatral Krishna Rao, *Śrī Chanḍāla Paramēśvarī, Karṇāṭaka Samskṛitīya Samśodhana* (A collection of articles reprinted by *Ushā Sāhitya Māle*, Mysore, 1970), pp. 257-261.
3. Bhima Shankar Deshpande, *Śrī Chandralāṁbā Sannati Darśana* (Marāṭhī, 1966). The goddess is regarded as Hingūḷa of Kashmir, Vindhyagirī, etc.
4. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, "Brāhmī Inscriptions and their bearing on the great *stūpa* at Sannati", in Frederick Asher and G.S. Gai (ed.) *Indian Epigraphy, Its Bearing on the History of Art*, (Varanasi, 1985), p. 41, ft. n. 1.
5. M. Seshadri, "Buddhist Monuments at Sannati", *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*,Vol. LVI, nos. 1-4, (Bangalore, 1965), pp. 35-37, "Buddhist Monuments in Mysore", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol XXXIV, no. 213 (Ascona 1972), pp. 169-170.
6. P.B. Desai, "A New Buddhist Centre", *The Journal of the Karnatak*

University-Social Sciences, Vol. IV, (Dharwad, 1968), pp. 3-8.

7. More than hundred sculptures have been preserved in the Government Museum, Gulbarga. (See *supra* notes 4 & 5), for, 52-inscribed sculptures were reported from the so-called *stupa* sites. See G.S. Gai (ed) *Annual Report, Indian Epigraphy*, 1966-67 (Mysore, 1972), pp. 37-39 (31 inscriptions); *ARIE*, 1968-69 lists (11-inscriptions). Some inscriptions have been included in an article by M.S. Nagaraja Rao, "Brāhmī inscriptions and their bearing on the great *stupa* at Sannati", (1985) vide note 4 above.
8. James Howell, "Note on Society's Excavations at Sannati. Gulbarga District, Karnataka, India", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, (London, 1989) pp. 159-162.
9. A. Sundara, "Excavations at Sannati", 1986-87, *Purātattva*, no. 17 (1986-87), pp. 21-24. Further see for a detailed account of the later Buddhist sculptures as well as medieval sculptures and remains. See A. Sundara, "Some More Noteworthy Sculptures from Sannati, Their Implications", in *Indian Archaeological Heritage, Shri K.V. Soundara Rajan Felicitation Volume*, (New Delhi, 1991) pp. 597-604.
10. A. Sundara, in *Purātattva*, no. 17, p. 23.
11. *UNI* Report in *Indian Express*, February, 1, 1989 under the title "2000 years old Inscription".
12. B.M. Barua, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I (Calcutta, 1968), pp. 8-10, 132 and D.C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, (Publications Division, New Delhi, 1975) pp. 20-21, 26-27, 47, 54-56.
13. D.C. Sircar, "Erragudi Edicts of Aśoka", *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII (1957-58), Pl. I facing p. 6.
14. K.R. Norman, in *South Asian Studies*, no. 7 (1991), p. 105.
15. K.R. Norman, "Studies in the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third series, Vol. I, pt. 2, (Cambridge, July, 1991), p. 245.
16. The three letters are doubtful reading—they appear as "*dha rada*".
17. K.V. Ramesh reads it as *Vacha-bhūmika*.
18. The letter *pa* is a rare and simple variety with the right open, See line-3 of Edict XII and line-1 of Edict XIV.
19. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1965), p. 44 note 1.
20. E. Hultzch, "Inscriptions of Aśoka", *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, (New edn., 1969) pp. 115-118 & 213-218 (=*CII*-I).

21. Lines 6, 7 are based on the intermediary spacing left. So in all 17-lines *da* is reversed in *Devānaṁ* line-3 which is not uncommon. Line-12 K.R. Norman reads it as *mayā* and Ramesh found *uje* and held it as part of *ujenite* and in the next line-4, the extant letters are taken for a reference to Kumāra or Kumāla as found in Dhauli version, cf. *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XIV (New Delhi, 1990) p. 37. K.R. Norman finds 17-lines whereas K.V. Ramesh takes the text as of 18-lines. See Appendix-II (B) and (C).
22. M.A. Mehendele, *Aśokan Inscriptions in India*, (A Linguistic study together with an exhaustive Bibliography, Bombay, 1948), Chapter-I pp. 2-38.
23. Mehendele, *op.cit.*, p. ix.
24. K.V. Ramesh in *Indian Historical Review*, XIV (1990) p. 37, "a third master version must have existed".
25. K.R. Norman, "Some Orthographical Problems in the Aśokan Inscriptions" in *Indian History and Epigraphy, Dr. G.S. Gai, Felicitation Volume* (Delhi, 1990), pp. 101 & 103.
26. N.P. Chakravarti, "The Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka and some connected problems", *Ancient India*, no. 4 pp. 18-19, 22-25. (New Delhi,1948)
27. D.C. Sircar, *Aśokan Studies* (Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979), pp. 4-5.
28. *Epigraphia Indica*, III, pp. 234 ff.
29. D.C. Sircar, *Aśokan Studies*, pp. 55-56.
30. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Madras, 1914), p. 145.
31. D.C. Sircar, *Aśokan Studies*, pp. 3-5. Boulder-A, Rock Edict I, II, III, V, VI, VII, XI and XIVs, C, Rock Edict XIII, D, Rock Edict XII E, Rock Edict I′C.
32. E. Hultzch, "Inscriptions of Aśoka", *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, (New Delhi, Reprint, 1969), pp. 175-178.
33. D.C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, (1979), pp. 62-70, 123-130. Also see G. Srinivasa Murti (ed) *Edicts of Aśoka (Priyadarśin), The Adayar Library Series*, no. 72 (Madras, 1951), pp. XV, 213-218.

APPENDIX I
(Synoptical Text of Aśokan Edicts)
(A) The First Face. Edict XII

Line 1

Sannati	.....**
Erragudi	*Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā sava-pāsa(ṁ)ḍani pavajitāni*
Girnar	*Devānaṁpiye Piyad(a)si rājā sava pāsaṁḍāni cha(pa) (pa)vajitānī*
Kalsi	*(D)evānāpiye (P)iyadash(i) lājā shāvāpāshaṁ(ḍān)i pav(a)jitā(n)ī*

Line 2

Sannati	.....**
Erragudi	*(gihathāni va pūjayati dāne)na vividhāya cha p(ūja)ya no chu tathā dānaṁ vā*
Girnar	*cha gharastani cha pūjayati d(ā)nena cha vivāḍhāya (cha) pūjāya pūjayati ne na tu tathā dānaṁ va*
Kalsi	*gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh(aye) cha puj(ā)ye n(o) ch(u) tathā dāne vā*

Line 3

Sannati	.....**
Erragudi	*(pūjā) va Devānaṁpiye maṁna(ti) a(tha) (kiti sāla vadhi) s(iyā) sava-pāsaṁdānaṁ*
Girnar	*Pū(jā) va D(e)vanaṁpiyo maṁnāte yathā kiti sāra–vadhi asa sa (va-pā) saṁdānaṁ sār(a)-va*
Kalsi	*pūjā vā Devāna(ṁ)piye m(a)natiathā k(i)ta ś(ā)lā-v(a) ḍhi śiyāti ś(a)va-pāśaḍāna śālā-va*

** Missing Text

Line 4

Sannati	..... **
Erragudi	*ḍhi chu bahu-vidh(ā) tasa chu (i)yaṁ m(ū)l(e) a vacha gu(ti) kiti ata-pāsaṁ(ḍa)-(pūjā) va pala-pāsaṁḍa galahā*
Girnar	*ḍhī tu bahuvidhā tasa tu idaṁ mulaṁ ya vachī guti kiṁti atpa-pāsaṁḍa pūjā va parapāsaṁḍa garahā*
Kalsi	*ḍhī nā bahuvidhā taśa chu inaṁ mule a...va(cha)-guti kiti t(i) ata-pasaḍa (v)āpūjā va pala-pāsaṁḍa-galahā*

Line 5

Sannati	.....*pā-la na*
Erragudi	*(vā no) siyā a-pakalanasi la(hu)kā(va)-(siyā) ta(si) ta(si pa) kala(na)si (pū)je(taviya) va chu pala-pāsaṁḍ(ā) tena (te)na*
Girnar	*va no bhave aprakaraṇamhi lahukā va asa...tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe pūjetyā tu eva parapāsaṁḍā tena tana*
Kalsi	*va no (śa)ya ap(a)k(a)l(a)naś (i) lahakā vā śiyā (ta)gi taśi pakalan(a)ś (i) pujetav(i)ya chu p(a)la-pā(śa)ḍā tena tena*

Line 6

Sannati	*ākā...nā he. . . . .*
Erragudi	*ākālena hevaṁ kalaṁtaṁ ata-pāsamḍa(ṁ)bā (ḍhaṁ) vaḍha(ya)ti pala-pā(saṁ)ḍasa pi cha upakaleti tad-amñath(ā) kala(ṁta)*
Girnar	*prakaraṇena evaṁ karuṁ ātpa-pāsaṁḍam cha vaḍhayati pāra-pāsaṁḍasa cha upakaroti tadaṁñathā karoto*
Kalsi	*akālana heva kalata ata-pāśada baḍham vadhiyati pala-pāśaḍa pi va upakaleti tadā anatha kalata*

Line 7

Sannati	*taṁ aṁta pāsāḍa cha chha (la)pāsa...galahati*

Erragudi *a(ta)pāsaṁḍaṁ cha chhanati pala-pāsaṁ (ḍasa) pi cha apakale (ti) e hi kechi ata-pāsaṁdam pūjayeti (pa)la-pāsaṁḍaṁ v(a) galahati*

Girnar *ātpa-pāsamḍaṁ cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṁḍasa cha pi apakaroti yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṁḍam pūjayeti para-pāsaṁḍam v(a) garahati*

Kalsi *ata-pāśaḍa cha chhanati pala-pāśaḍa pi vā apakaleti ye h(i)kecha (a)ta-pāśaḍa punāti pala-pāshaḍa vā ga (la)hati*

Line 8

Sannati *save ata-pāsaḍa...kita...a˜ti... ata pāsaṁḍam se sama*

Erragudi *save ata-pāsaṁḍa-bha(tiyā va) ki(ti a) ta-pāsaṁ (ḍa)ṁ di(paye)ma (ti)se cha mana tathā kalaṁtaṁ b(ā)ḍhatale upahaṁti ata-pāsaṁḍaṁ se sama*

Girnar *savaṁ ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-bhatiyā kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁḍam dīpayema iti so ch pun tatha karāto ātpa-pāsaṁḍa(ṁ) bāḍhataraṁ upahanāti ta sama*

Kalsi *shave ata-pāshaṁ(ḍa) bhatiyā vā kiti ata pāshaṁḍa (d)ipayema she cha punā tathā kalaṁtaṁ bāḍhatale up (a) haṁt(i) ata-pāshaṁḍashi shama*

Line 9

Sannati *vāyeva sa...(ma)...ma(su)mavucha...sa(va)pāsamḍa*

Erragudi *vāye(va)sādhu ki(ti) aṁnam-anāsa (dhaṁmaṁ sunevu) cha susūseyu cha hevaṁ hi De(vā)-naṁpiya(sa i) chhā kiti sava-pāsaṁḍa*

Girnar *vāyo eva sādhu kiṁti (a) ñamaṁñasa dhaṁmaṁ sruṇāru cha susuṁsera cha evaṁ hi D(e)vānaṁ piyasa ichhā kiṁti sava-pāsaṁḍa*

Kalsi *vāye vu shādhu kiti aṁnamanashā dhaṁmaṁ shune (y)u chā shushusheyu-chā ti-hevaṁ hi devānaṁpiyasha ichha kiṁti sava-pāshaṁḍa*

Line 10

Sannati	*bahu-sutā cha kayānāgama...va mamnātiṁ...*
Erragudi	*bahu-sutā cha kayān-āgamā cha huvey (u ti) e (cha) tata tata (pāsaṁnā)te hi vataviy(e) devanaṁpiye no tath (ā) dānaṁ v(ā) (pū)ja v(ā) maṁnati*
Girnar	*bahu-srutā cha asu kal(ā)nāgamā cha (a) su ye cha tatra tata prasaṁnā tehi vatavyaṁ devānaṁpiyo no tathā dānaṁ va pūjaṁ va maṁñate*
Kalsi	*bahu-shutā chā kayānāgā cha huveyu ti e (cha) tata t(a)t (a) p(a)sh(aṁ)nā te(hi va) taviye devānāpiye no tathā dānaṁ vā pūjā vā maṁnat(i)*

Line 11

Sannati	*atha kiti...sālava dhi (sa)Ka...Mahāmātā*
Erragudi	*atha kiti sāla-vāḍhi si(yā) sava-pāsa(ṁ)-dānaṁ ti (ba)huk (ā) cha etāye a(thā)ye viyāpata dhaṁma(ma)hāmātā ithi dhiva(kha) mahām(ā)tā*
Girnar,	*yathā kiṁti sāra-vāḍhi asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṁ bahakā cha etāya athā vyāpatā chaṁma-mahāmātā cha ithījhakha-mahāmātā cha*
Kalsi	*athā kiti sh(ā)lā-v(a)dhi siyā shava-pāshaṁḍatiṁ bahukā ch(ā) etāyaṭhāye viyāpaṭā dha(ṁ)ma mahāmāta ithidhiyakha mahāmātā*

Line 12

Sannati	*vacha rājimikā... nedhani...*
Erragudi	*vacha-bhūmiko(kā) cha aṁne cha nikāyā iyaṁ (chu e) tasa phale (ata-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhi) cha hoti dhaṁmasa cha d(ī)panā ti*
Girnar	*vacha-bhūmikā cha aña cha nikāyā ayaṁ etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhī cha hoti dhaṁmasa cha di(a)nā*
Kalsi	*vacha-bh(u)mikyā ane vā(n)iky(ā)y (ā) iyaṁ cha etishā*

phale yaṁ ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi chā hoti dhaṁmasha chā dipanā

Translation

1. King Privadarśin, beloved of Gods, honours men of all religious communities.
2. Both with gifts and with honours of various kinds (irrespective of whether they are ascetics or house-holders).
3. But the beloved of Gods does not value either the (offering of) gifts or the honouring (of people) so (highly) as the following, *viz.*, that there should be a growth of the essentials of *dharmā* among men of all sects.
4. But a promotion of the essentials (in *dharmā* is possible) in many ways–its root is thus guarding (ones) speech, that neither praising ones own sect or disparagement of other sects should take place.
5. It should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions.
6. If one is acting this, he is promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.
7. If a person acts otherwise (he) not only injures his own sect very severally but also harms other sects, whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects.
8. All (this) out of devotion to his own sect with a view to glorifying his own sect if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect severally.
9. Therefore concord alone is meritorious *i.e.* they should both hear and obey each others morals. For this is the desire of Devānāṁpriyā that all sects.
10. Become well informed and acquire pure knowledge of the doctrine and those who are attached to their respective (sects) out to be spoken to (as follows). Devānāṁpriya does not value either the (offering of) gifts or honouring (the people) so highly as the following.

11. That promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place and many officers are occupied for this purpose, the *Mahāmātras* in-charge of *dharma* the *mahāmātras* in-charge of the (matters relating to) ladies.
12. The officers in-charge of (my cattle and) pasture lands and other classes (of officials). And the result of their acts is the promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of *dharma*.

(A) The First Face. Edict XIV

Line 1

Sannati	*(i)yaṁ dhamma-lipi Devānaṁpi yeṇa...vasa...*
Erragudi	*iyaṁ dha(ṁ)ma-lipi devānaṁpiyena piya-dasin(ā) lājinā*
Girnar	*ayaṁ dhaṁma-lipi devānaṁpiyena piyadasinā r(a)ñā*
Kalsi	*iyaṁ dhama-lipi dev(ānaṁp)i(y)e(n)ā piyā-dasinā lājinā*

Line 2

Sannati	.....**
Erragudi	*li(khā)pitā athi yeva sam(khi)tena athi majhimena athi vitha (ṭenā)*
Girnar	*l(e)khāpitā asti eva samkhit(e)na asti majhamena asti vistatena*
Kalsi	*likhāpitā athi yevā sukhi-tenā (a)thi mujhimenā athi vithaṭena*

Line 3

Sannati	*no hi savati sava gha ti (te)... ... .*
Erragudi	*no hi savatā sa(ve) gha(ti)te cha*
Girnar	*na cha sarvaṁ (sa)rvata ghaṭitaṁ*
Kalsi	*no hi sabatā save(gha)ṭite*

** Missing Text

Line 4

Sannati	. . . . . ****
Erragudi	*mahālake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likhā payisami cheva nikāyam*
Girnar	*mahālake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitam likhā payisaṁ cheva*
Kalsi	*mahālake hi vi jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyaṁ*

Line 5

Sannati	*tasa tasa a (-)sa madhuliyaye (jane) tatha...*
Erragudi	*athi chu heta (pu)na (pu)nala (pite tasa tasa) aṭhasa mādhuliyāye ena (ja)te(ne) tathā (patipajeya)*
Girnar	*asti cha eta kaṁ puna pun vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa mādhuratāya kiṁti jano tathā paṭipajetha*
Kalsi	*athi chāheta puna pun(ā) la(pi) t(e) tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā*

Line 6

Sannati	*... kālanaṁ va ālochayatu lipika lā palā dhavata*
Erragudi	*(se siya ata ki) chhi asamati likhite desaṁ vā saṁ(kha) saṁkhāyayā kālanaṁ va ālochayitu lipika(l-āpalā)dhena vā ti*
Girnar	*tatra ekadā asamāt(a)ṁ likhita(ṁ) asa desaṁ va sachhāya (kā)raṇaṁ va (a)lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va*
Kalsi	*she shiyā ata k(i)chhi a samati likhite dishā va shaṁkhāya kālanaṁ va alochayitu li(p)ika-lapalādhena vā*

Translation

1. This record relating to *Dharmā* has been caused to be written by King Priyadarśī, beloved of the Gods.
2. Either in abridged (form) or of middle (size) or at full length.

3. And the whole was not suitable everywhere.
4. For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall certainly cause still a lot (more) to be written.
5. And (some) of this has been stated again and again owing to their sweetness, so that people may act accordingly.
6. Thus there may be some (topic) which have been written incompletely either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked or owing to a fault of the scribe.

(B) The Second Face. Special Edict II

Dhau. (1) *Devānaṁpiyas(a) vachanena Tosalīyaṁ kumāle mahāmāta cha*

Jau. (1) *Devanāṁpiye hevaṁ ā (ha) samāpāyaṁ...mahamatā*

San .....**

Dhau. *. . .vataviya aṁ kichhi dakhām (i) h (akaṁ taṁ (i)...*

Jau. *l (ā) ja-vachanik (a) vataviyā aṁ kichhi dakh (ā) mi hakaṁ tami(chh) āmi*

San .....**

Dhau. *.....duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ esa*

Jau. *hakaṁ k (iṁ) ti kaṁ*[1] *kamana paṭipātayehaṁ duvā (_la)techaālabhehaṁ esa*

San. .....**

Dhau. *cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe(s) u.....*

Jau. *cha me mokhiya-mat(a) duvāl(a) etasa a(tha)sa a(ṁ) t(uph) esu anusa (thi)*

San. .....**

** Missing Text

1. This passage is repeated by mistake in the original

Dhau. (2)...*mama ath(a)pajāye ichhāmi hakaṁ ki(ṁ) ti*
Jau. (2) *sava-muṇisā me pajā atha pajāy (e) ichhāmi kiṁti me*
San. . . . . **

Dhau. *savena hi(ta)sukhe na...hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti*
Jau. *savenā hita-su(kh)ena yu(je)yū* ti hidalogika-pālaloki (k) e (ṇa)*
San. . . . .. **
Dhau. *h(e)v(aṁ)... ...(3) siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ*
Jau. *hevaṁmeva me iccha sava-munisesu (3) siyā aṁtānaṁ (a) vijitānaṁ*
San. . . . .**

Dhau. *ki-chha(ṁde) su lāja (aphesu)...m(a) vaichha mama aṁtesu*
Jau. *kim-chhāmde su lājā aphesū ti etaka (va) me ichha (a) ṁtesu*
San. . . . .**

Dhau. *...i(p)ā(p) unevu ta iti Devānaṁ p(iy)...(anu)v(i)g(ina) mamāye*
Jau. *...pāpuneyu˜lājā hevaṁ ichh (a)ti anu(v)i(g)ina he(yū)*
San. ... *...anuviga(i)....*

Dhau. *huvevū...ti asvasevu cha sukhaṁmeva...hey(u) mamate*
Jau. *mamiyāye...(a)svaseyu cha me sukhaṁ(m)ev(a) cha lahey(ū) mamate*
San. *...sevu cha sukhameva cha Labhavu.....*

Dhau. *no dukha(ṁ) h(e)va(ṁ)˜un(e)vū iti khamisati ne*
Jau. *(n)o kha(ṁ) hevaṁ cha pāpuneyu kha(m)i(sa)ti ne*
San. *...yena cha hevaṁ pāpunevu rājā nekhami...*

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* * Missing Text

Dhau. *Devānaṁpiye (aph)ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṁ (va)*
Jau. *lājā...e s(a)kiye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ*
San. *....Ye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ*

Dhau. *cha dhammaṁ chalevū hidaloka palaloka(ṁ)cha*
Jau. *cha dhaṁma(ṁ) chaley(ū) ti hidalog(aṁ) cha palalogaṁ cha*
San. *va dhaṁmaṁ charevu hida cha paralokaṁ cha*

Dhau. *ālādhayevu (4) etasi athasi haka(m) anusāsāmi tuphe*
Jau. *ālādhayey(ū) (4) etaye cha aṭhaye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi*
San. *ārāḍhayevu (4) etāya cha aṭhāya haka(ṁ) tuphe...anusāsāmi*

Dhau. *ana(n)e (e)takena hakaṁ anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha veditu*
Jau. *ana(ne eta) kena (ha)kaṁ tupheni a(nu)sāsitu chhaṁda(ṁ cha) vedi(t)u*
San. *ananō hakaṁ tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha ditu*

Dhau. *ā(hi) dhi(t)i paṭiṁññā cha mamā (a) jalā (e) hevaṁ kaṭu*
Jau. *ā mama dhiti patiṁññā cha...achala ca hevaṁ (ka) ṭu*
San. *yāhi mama dhīti paṭimñā cha achalā sāti hevaṁ kaṭu*

Dhau. *kaṁme chal(i)t(a)v(i)ye asv(āsa)...i(cha) tāni ena*
Jau. *k(aṁ)me (cha)litaviye āsvāsa(n)iyā ch(a)te en(a) te*
San. *kameṁ charitaviye āsvāsetaviyā cha teyena cha te*

Dhau. *pāpunevū itiatha pitā tatha Devānaṁpiy(e) aphāka athā cha*
Jau. *pāpunevū a(th)ā pita (h)evaṁ (n)e lājā ti atha*
San. *heva(ṁ) pāpunevu athā pita hevaṁ rājā yathā cha*

Dhau. *atānaṁ hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye (a) nukaṁpati aphe athā cha pajā*
Jau. *(a)tānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ a(ph)eni anuka ‹(mpa)ti thā pajā*
San. *atānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ apheniya chakaṁ pajā*

Dhau. *hevaṁ may(e) D(e)vānaṁpiyasa se (5) hakaṁ anusāsitu (chha)ṁda(m)*
Jau. *hevaṁ (may)e lā(j)ine (5) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita(chh) aṁdaṁ*
San. *hevaṁ mayi sehakaṁ (5) tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ*

Dhau. *ch(a) veditu tu phāk(a)... ...desāvuṭike*
Jau. *(cha v)e(di)ta (ā ma) ma dhiti paṭi(ṁ)nā chā achala (saka)la desā ay (ut)ike*
San. *cha tu Desāvituke etasi aṭhasi*

Dhau. *hosāmi etāye athāye paṭibalā hi tuph(e) asvāsanāye hita*
Jau. *hosāmi et(a)si (a)thas(i) (a)laṁ (h)i tuphe asvāsa(nā) ye hi(ta)*
San. *hohāmi alaṁhi tuphe āsvāsanāye*

Dhau. *sukhāye cha(tesa) hidalokika-pālalo(ki)kāye...hevaṁ cha*
Jau. *sukhāye (cha te)sa(ṁ) hidalogi(ka)p(ā)lal(o)ki(k)ā(y)e hevaṁ cha*
San. *sukhāye cha tesaṁ hidalokika paralokikāye etaṁ cha hevaṁ*

Dhau. *kalaṁtaṁ tuphe svagaṁ...ālādha(vi)satha mama ch (a) ānaniyaṁ*
Jau. *kalaṁtaṁ...svaga(ṁ cha...ā) lādhavisa(tha) mama cha āna(n)eyaṁ*
San. *Karaṁtaṁ svagaṁā chārodhesātha mama cha ānaniyaṁ*

Dhau. *ehatha (6) etāya cha athāye iyaṁ lipi likhitā hida e(na)*
Jau. *es(a)tha (6) etāye cha a(th)āye i(va)ṁ lipī li(kh)i ta hi da e(na)*

San. *ehathaṁ (6) etā...ya...iya lipī hida likhitā athā*

Dhau. *(ma)hāmata svasata(ṁ) sa ma yujisanti as(vā)s(a)nāye dhaṁma*

Jau. *(ma)h(ā)mātā sāsvataṁ samaṁ yūjeyā asvāsanāye cha dhaṁma*

San. *mahāmāta sāsvataṁ...yujevu āsvāsasaniyā dhaṁma*

Dhau. *chala(n)aye cha tes(a) aṁtānaṁ iyaṁ cha lipi (anu) chātummāsaṁ*

Jau. *chala(nā)ye (cha)...aṁtā(na)ṁ iyaṁ cha lipī a(nu)ch(ā) tuṁ(m)āsaṁ*

San. *charanāya cha aṁtā...ha lipi anuchātu māsi*

Dhau. *tisena nakhatena sotaviyā kāmaṁ chu...(kha)ṇas(i) khanasi*

Jau. *s(ota)viyā...tisena ti seni aṁta(lā)pi...cha...sotaviyā*

San. *sotaviyā ti seni aṁtarāpi. . .*

Dhau. *aṁtalā pi tisena ekena (p)i (so)taviya hevaṁ kala(ṁ)taṁ*

Jau. *...khane samtam eke(na) pi (sota)v(i)yā heva(ṁ) cha (ka) lam(ta)m*

San. *hi khanasa khana(si) (.slot) Ātaviyā hevaṁ*

Dhau. *(t)uphe chaghatha sampatipādayitave*

Jau. *...chaghathā saṁpaṭipātayit(av)e*

San. *...ghaṭa sampaṭi (...slot...). . .* :*

APPENDIX II (A)

Texts of the Edicts of Sannati

(i) I.K. Sarma, R.V. Siva Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao in *Bulletin Indian Museum,* (Calcutta, 1989), pp. 9-10. Plates.
(ii) I.K. Sarma, G.V. Srinivasa Rao and J. Varaprasada Rao in *Ratna Chandrika,* (New Delhi, 1989) pp. 407-408, Plates.

(a). Edicts-XII and XIV

1. . . .*pā... ...la na....*
2. . . . *ā kā̃.nā he....*
3. . . .*taṁ aṁta pā sā ḍham cha chha (--) pā sa....*
4. . . .*śa (ga) la ha ti sa ve a ta pā sā ḍhãu ta ma....ga*
5. *...a ta pā sā ḍha (--) se sa ma vā ye (va) sa (du)....*
6. . . .*sa va pā saṁḍa ba hu (suta) kiyā nā ga mãsa va gi na vata*
7. *...cha (sa) gha ti a tha kiti....ḍha....ka*
8. *...ma hā (--) va cha rā ji mi ka....ne dhi ni....*
9. *(i) yaṁ dhaṁ ma li pi de vā naṁ (pi) ye na....va sa*
10. *...no hi sa ma ti sa ve gha va....*
11. *...ta sa ta sa (a) (-) sa ma ta (du) li ya ye...(ye na) ja ne ta dha....*
12. *...yā kā la naṁ va ā lo cha ya tu li pa ka (sa) pa(-) dh (-) nu....*

(b). Special Edict II

Line-1 *l...anuviga (gi)· ...*
Line-2 *...Sevu cha Sukhameva cha rabhavu.....*
Line-3 *...yena cha hevaṁ pāpunevu rājāne khama (ṁ)*
Line-4 *ve khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ ve dhaṁmaṁ charevu hida (lokaṁ)*
Line-5 *cha Paralokaṁ cha ārāḍhayevu (4) etāya cha aṭhāya haka (ṁ) tuphe*
Line-6 *anusāsāmi anuno hakaṁ tupheni anusāsita chhaṁdaṁ cha ditu*
Line-7 *yāhi mama dhiti paṭini cha achalā sāti hevaṁ kaṭu kaṁme*

charitaviye

Line-8 *āsvāsetaviyā cha toyana cha te hevaṁ Pāpunevu athā Pita hevaṁ*

Line-9 *rājā yathā cha atānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ apheniya(ṁ)*

Line-10 *Chakapaja hevaṁ mayā sehakaṁ tupheni (5) anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha*

Line-11 *tu desāvutike etasi aṭhasi hohāmi alaṁhi tuphe āsvāsanāye*

Line-12 *dha(hi) ta sukhāye cha tesaṁ hidaloka ka(ṁ) Paralokikāye etaṁ chha hevaṁ*

Line-13 *Karaṁtaṁ Svagaṁ cha arodhe satha mama cha ānaniyam ehatham (6) etā*

Line-14 *...ya iyaṁ lipi hida likhita athā mahāmāta Sāsvataṁ*

Line-15 *...ya (yu) jevu āsvāsanīyā dhaṁma charanāyacha aṁtā*

Line-16 *...cha lipi ane chātu mami sotayi sehi amtalāpi*

Line-17 *...hi˜sarena* (slot)***...taviyā hevaṁ*

Line-18 *...ghaṭa Saṁpāṭi* (slot).**

(C). Special Edict-I

1. *taviye*
2. *aṁnāne*
3. *Ya javāram*
4. *Pa*
5. *dhi*
6. *chakalaṁtaṁ*
7. *atha*
8. *lo*
9. *rā*
10. *cha ga*
11. *karaṁ*
12. *Yeva atha... .va vagaṁ nikhāne* (slot) *atikāme sati*
13. *sayāna no...peyiva atane* (slot) *ni saṁti tampi hevākaṁ*
14. *Sāthīti*

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* * Missing Text

APPENDIX - II (B)

Letter dated 24th November 1989 from Dr. K.R. Norman, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge, CB 3 90A, along with the Texts of Aśokan Edicts of Sannati. He has since published these views under the title "Aśokan Inscriptions from Sannati" in *South Asian Studies*, 7 (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 101-110.

Dear Dr. Sarma,

I have now had the chance of looking at the Sannati inscriptions, and I enclose copies of my provisional readings. It is not easy to make out some of the *akṣaras* in the small reproductions which accompany your articles, and I do not doubt that in some cases your readings, based upon large original photographs, are superior to mine. In particular I cannot always see the dot in the middle of the circle of the *tha-akṣara*, although the sense sometimes confirms that this is the correct reading. When I get photographs, then I shall doubtless revise some of my readings.

Another problem is that it appears that the (presumed) readings were picked out with ink or paint before the photographs were taken, so that what we see in them is what whoever did the "picking-out" thought was the correct reading. This is most obvious in the case of the word which comes near the end of line 5 (in my transcription) of Rock Edict XII. On the reproduction it is very clearly *sunave*, but the expected reading is *sunevu*. In your small Plate 4, however, the *vu-akṣara* is very clear. I do not know what status the drawing (your Fig. 46.2) of the Separate Edicts has, i.e. whether it is an eyecopy made from the slab itself, or from the photographs. Some of the readings on it cannot be seen (by me) on the photo graphs, and it would be interesting to know how it was made.

Here are some comments on my readings (I write *ca* and *cha* where you use *cha* and *chha*):

Rock Edict XII

Line-1. I read the traces as *pa...lana*, and cannot see the *ā-mātrā* which you read. If *lana* is correct, then it must be part of *pakalanasi*. If that is so, then what I read as *pa* must, in fact, be the remains of *si* in *tasi*.

Line-2. I agree with you in reading *ākā.... .nā*, but I cannot see the *e-mātrā* in *he*. The traces between *kā* and *nā* must be *le*.

Line-3. I cannot see the *anusvāra* which you read in *amta*, and it is in any case not required, since the word is *ata*. I cannot see the *ā mātrā* in *sā* or the *anusvāra* which you read in *pāsāḍhaṇ m* where *ḍh* must be a misprint). I can see nothing after *cha* until *lapāsa*, which is part of *palapāsamḍam*.

Line-4. The first word in the line is *galahati*. I presume that your *śagalahati* is an error based upon an indecision as to whether the first *akṣara* is *śa* or *ga*. You read-*pasaḍa*, but I think that *pā* is certain. You read the last three *akṣaras* in the line as *utama*. They seem to me to be *kiti* followed by initiala.

Line-5. I take the first *akṣara* to be *ta*, and the trace above this and to the right is consistent with an *i-mātrā*, giving the possibility of *ti*, as the last syllable of *upahamti*. You read it as *ga*. What you read as *atapasadha* I read as *atapāsaḍam*. I agree with you in reading *se samavāye* after that. The following *akṣaras* seem to me to be *yasa*, although you read *(va)sa*. The parallel versions suggest that *va* is correct, but I cannot see it in the photograph. The *akṣaras* at the righthand end of the line I read as *manasa dha(m)ma(m) sunavu(ca)*, I cannot see the *e-mātrā* in *ne*, which is required to give the expected optative ending *-evu*. You give only (*du*) for this section of the line, and read the remaining *akṣaras* as *sa va gina vata* and place them in the next line. The last *akṣara* but one is clearly *ve* in the photograph, but this makes no sense. In the small photograph in Plate 4 *vu* is very clear, and it appears that *ve* is the product of some sort of "improvement" process.

Line-6. I agree with you in reading *savapāsamḍa bahusuta* at the beginning of the line, although *suta* is not very clear. The damaged *akṣara* after that I take to be *ca*. You omit it. I then read *kayānāgama*.

You read *kiyānāgama*. The solitary *akṣara* near the end of the line I take to be *na*, with a mark below which makes it look like *nu*. This must be the final syllable of *pasamnā*.

Line-7. You read the first four *akṣaras* as *ca saghati*. I think they are *va manati*. The next four *akṣaras* are *aṭha kiti*. You read *atha*, but I cannot see the dot in the circle of *tha*. I then read *salavaḍhi sa*, although *ḍhi* and *sa* are hard to make out. You read *dha ka*.

Line-8. I read *mahāmātā vacabhūmikā* at the beginning of the line. The *bhū-akṣara* seems to be broken into two separate *akṣara*,s which you read as *rāji*. The last three legible *akṣaras* you read as *ne dhini*. I read them as *ne ca ni* and assume they are the remains of *amne ca nikāyā*.

Rock Edict XIV

Line-1. I agree with your reading of this line. The *akṣaras va sa* at the end of the line are the remains of *yeva samkhitena*.

Line-2. You read *no hi samatisa veghava*. I read *savati* instead of *samati*, and assume that *iṭ* is a scribal error for *tā*. I read *ghaca* rather than *ghava*, but assume that the correct reading is *ti*, which has been "improved" to *ca* by someone who has touched up the photograph. The *e-mātrā* of the next *akṣara* is visible. This must be *te*, giving the reading *ghaṭite*.

Line-3. The first four *akṣaras* are *tasa casa*. You read *tasa tasa* and this is clearly what the scribe intended. I presume that *ta* has been "improved" to *ca*. The next *akṣara* is initial *a*. There is an illegible *akṣara* and then *sa*. The missing *akṣara* must be *tha* or *ṭha*. The next word must have been *mādhuliyāye*, but *dha* is badly damaged, and I cannot see the *u-mātrā*, nor either of the vowel *mātrās* in *-yāye*. You read *madhuliyāye*, but *mā* seems clear to me. You read (*yena*) after that. I can see nothing. I take the *akṣaras* at the end of the line to be *jana taṭha* (where *tha* is intended) *pa*. You read *jana tatha yā*.

Line-4. I agree with you in reading *kālanam va*, but I can see no trace of the initial *ā* which you read in *ālocayatu*. It is in any case unnecessary, since the other versions have *a-*. You read the rest of the line as *lipika(sa) pa(ra)dh-nu*. I read *lipikarāpa...dhava (va)*. The

missing *akṣara* must be *rā,* while what is clearly *va* on the photograph must stand for *na,* presumably "improved". I can see no trace of the *e-mātrā* which must have been on *dha*. Only the lefthand side of the final *vā* is visible.

Separate Rock Edict I

Line-1. I agree with your *taviye*. It is probably the end of *etaviye*.

Line-2. You read *amnāne*. I cannot see *nā,* whereas *ṇe* is very clear. I therefore read *amnaṇe,* although according to Alsdonf we need *amnamne* here.

Line-3. I do not think your *ya javāram* can be correct. The first *akṣara* is clearly the righthand side of *thi*. What you read as *ja* must be *ti,* and your *vā* must be initial *e-*. These are the traces of *anusathi ti etam*.

Line-4. The first *akṣara* is the lefthand side of *ma;* the third *akṣara* is *pā*. The *akṣara* in between is barely legible, but the traces are consistent with *hā*. This agrees with the reading *mahāpāye*.

Line-5. I agree with your *dhi*. This is the end of the word *āladhi*.

Line-6. You do not leave a space for this. Nothing is legible.

Line-7. You do not leave a space for this. Nothing is legible.

Line-8. You do not leave a space for this. I read *ta,* and assume it is part of the word *ntarā*.

Line-9. I agree with your *ca kalamtam,* but *ca* may be a miswriting for *va,* which the other sites read.

Line-10. I read *aṭhā* and assume it is part of the word *aṭhāye*. You read *atha,* but I cannot see the dot in the middle of the circle, although it is shown in eyecopy. The *ā-mātrā* in *ṭhā* is clear.

Line-11. I read *mayam,* although the final-*m* is not certain. This is part of the word *samayam*. You read *lo*.

Line-12. The traces are consistent with *bodhe va,* which would be the remains of *paribodhe va*. You read *rā*.

Line-13. I read *matam pa,* as part of *mahāmātam pamcasu*. You read *ca ga*.

Line-14. I agree with you in reading *karam,* but I can also see the righthand side of *thā* before it. There is a blank immediately after *ram,* and then there is a trace of another *akṣara,* perhaps initial *a*. This would be the remains of *tathā kalamti athā.*

Line-15. I cannot see the dot in the circle of *tha,* and so I read *ye va aṭhā,* where you read *atha,* which is what the sense demands. You then read *va vagam nikhāme*. I assume that the mark to the right of *me* is part of *sa*. You continue, after the slot, with *atikāmesati,* which I agree with, but there is a clear *ni* before this, which you omit.

Line-16. You read *sayāna no*. I cannot see the *o-mātrā,* and assume that the vowel should be-*i*. The original was *anusayānam nikhamisamti*. You continue with *peyiva atane*. I am uncertain of the *e-mātrā* and would prefer to read *pa*. The *akṣaras* following this are certainly *yitu,* the three *akṣaras* being the remains of *ahāpayitu*. You continue with *nisamti tam pi hevākam*. I cannot see the *anusvāra* in *amti,* nor the *ā-mātrā* in *hevā,* nor the *anusvāra* in *kam*. The original was probably *jānisamti tam pi hevam karamti.*

Line-17. You read *sāthī ti*. I cannot see the *ā-mātrā* in *sā,* nor the *ī-mātrā* nor the dot in *thī*. I therefore read *saṭhi*. Nor can I see the *i-mātrā* in *ti*. The traces accord with *anusathī ti.*

Separate Rock Edict II

Line-1. I agree with you in reading *anuviga,* but the vowel *mātrā* on the *ga-akṣara* must have been *i,* as in the other sites.

Line-2. You read the last word as *rabhavu,* and quote this as an example of the change of *la* to *ra*. It seems to me to be very clearly *la*. The vowel *mātrā* on the *bha-akṣara* is broken off, but must have been *-e*.

Line-3. I agree with you in reading *yeva ca heva pāpunevu rājā ne kham(i)*. The vowel *mātrā* on the *ma-akṣara* is broken off.

Line-4. You read the first *akṣara* as *ve*. I read it as *ye*. I agree with your reading for the rest of the line, except that the *ū-mātrā* on *vū* in *carevū* seems clear to me.

Line-5. You read *ārāḍhayevu*. I cannot see the *ā-mātrā* on *ra,* and

the next *akṣara* is certainly *dha*. I agree with the rest of your readings for this line.

Line-6. You print *anuno,* which must be a misprint. I read *anaṇe*. You read *anusāsita,* but *tu* seems clear to me, and agrees with the other sites. The last three *akṣaras* in the line are *ca ditu,* and a comparison with the other versions shows that the scribe has omitted *ve* from *veditu* by error.

Line-7. I agree with your readings for this line except that I read *paṭi(m)nā* where you read *paṭini*. I regard *nā* as being certain, and think that I can see the *anusvāra* before it on one of your photographs.

Line-8. The *ā-mātrā* on the final *yā* of *āsvāsetaviyā* seems clear to me, although you do not read it. You read *toyana,* but *te yena* seems clear to me. I am not certain about the *e-mātrā* in *hevam*.

Line-9. I agree with your readings for this line except for the last *akṣara*. I cannot see *va(m)*. It seems to me to be clearly *ya,* and it is the remains of *yathā*.

Line-10. I think I can see an *anusvāra* after the second *aksara* of this line, which would then give the common pair of words *ca kam*. You read *mayā,* but *mayi* seems clear to me. You read *hakam,* and this is obviously intended, but I cannot see the horizontal stroke of *ha,* and can only read it as *pa*.

Line-11. You read–*vatuke,* but *–vutike* seems clear to me. I cannot see the dot in the circle of *tha,* and so read *aṭhasi* where you read *athasi*.

Line-12. You read *hidalokaka(m),* but *hidālokikā*. seems clear to me.

Line-13. You read *arodhesatha,* but *ārodhesātha* seems clear to me, where *ro* must be a mistake for *rā*. There seems to be an *anusvāra* after *mama*. You read *anāniyam,* but *ānaniyam* seems clear to me. I cannot see the *anusvāra* which you read in *ehatham,* and it is not required, because there is no *anusvāra* in the verbal ending *–atha*. You read the last word of the line as *eta*. It seems to me to be *etā*.

Line-14. You read the first *akṣara* as *yā*. I can see only *ya*. On the other hand, I read *lipī* where you have *lipi; likhitā* where you have

likhita; athā where you have *atha:* and *mātā* where you have *māta.*

Line-15. I read *yujevu* where you read *yavujevu,* and *āsvāsanāya* where you read *āsvāsasanīya.*

Line-16. I read *lipī* where you have *lipi.* The next word must be *anucātumāsa(m),* and on the eyecopy the last *akṣara* seems to be *si,* but on the photographs this *akṣara* appears to be *va.* You read the next word as *sotayi,* but the traces seem consistent with *sotaviyā,* which the other sites have. The *i-mātrā* of the next *akṣara* is visible, and this is followed by *sehi.* The word is probably *tisehi,* where the other versions have *tisena.* You then read *amtalā pi,* but the reading *amtarā* seems certain to me.

Line-17. You read *hi-sarena,* but this must be a misprint, for the reading *khanasi khanas(i)* seems certain to me. I cannot see the *anusvāra* in *hevam* which you print.

Line-18. You read *ghaṭa,* but *ghata* seems certain to me. You then read *sampāṭi,* but I cannot see the *ā-mātrā* in *pāṭi.*

I must stress that all these readings, suggestions and comments are tentative, and may well have to be revised when I have had a chance of examining large original photographs. When I am more certain, then I shall think about publishing an article somewhere about this very important new Aśokan find.

Face-A
Rock Edict XII

1. ...(E)...pā(=si)...lana...
2. ...ākālenā (F) he...
3. ...(G)...tam atapāsaḍa ca cha...lapāsa...
4. ...(H)...galahati save atapāsaḍa...kiti a...
5. ..t(i) atapāsaḍam (I) se samavāye (va) sa...manasa dha(m)ma(m) sunevu (ca)...
6. ...(J)...savapāsamḍa bahusutā (ca) kayānāgama...(K)...na t(e)...
7. va manati aṭha(= thā) kimti salava(ḍh)i (sa)...(M)...
8. mahāmātā vacabhūmikā...amne ca ni...(va)

Rock Edict XIV

9. **(A)** (i)yam dhammalipi devānampiyeṇa..va sa...
10. **(B)** no hi savati (=ṭā) save gha(ṭ)i(t)e...**(D)**...
11. tasa tasa a...sa mā(dhu)liyaya...jaṇe taṭha(=thā) pa...**(E)**...
12. kālanam va alocayatu lipikalāpa...dhe(na) vā(ti)...

Separate Rock Edict I

1. ...(ta)viye
2. ...amnaṇe
3. ...thī devānam
4. ma(hā)pā
5. ...dhī...
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...ta...
9. ...va(=ca)karamtam
10. ...athā

(break in slab)

11. ...(maya)m..j(e)...
12. ...(le)se v(ā)
13. ...mā(tam) pa
14. ...thā karamt(i) (a)
15. ...t(ā)ye va athā...va vagam nikhāme(s)...ni atikāmesati
16. ...sayāna(m) n(i)...payitu atane...nisamti tasa pi hevā(= va) ka
17. ..sa(th)ī ti

(etāye ca aṭhāye nikhāmayisati hedisameva vagam no ca atikāmayisati ...anusayānam nikhamisamti tadā ahāpayitu atane kammam etam pi jānisamti tam pi tathā kalamti athā lājine anusathī ti)

Separate Rock Edict II

1. ...anuvig(i)
2. ...sevu ca sukham eva ca labh(e)(v)u...
3. ...yena ca hevam pāpunevu rājā ne kham(i)...
4. ye khamitave ma(m)mam nimitam va(=ca) dham-mam carevū hida...
5. ca paralokam ca ārādhayevu etāya ca aṭhāya hakam tuphe
6. anusāsāmi aṇaṇe hakam tupe(= phe)ni anusāsitu chamdam ca (ve) ditu
7. yā hi mama dhiti paṭimnā ca acalā sā ti hevam kaṭu kamme caritaviye
8. āsvāsetaviyā ca te yena ca te hevam pāpunevu athā pita h(e)vam
9. rājā yathā ca atānam anukampati hevam apheni yath(ā)
10. ca kam pajā hevam mayi se pa(= ha)kam tupe(= phe)ni anusāsitu chamdam ca...
11. tu desāvutike etasi athasi hohāmi alam hi tuphe āsvāsanāye
12. hitasukhāye ca tesa hidālokikāpāralokikāye etam ca hevam
13. karamtam svaga(m) va(= ca) āro(= rā)dhesātha mama ca ānaniyam ehatha etā
14. ya iyam lipī hida likhitā athā mahāmātā sāsvatam
15. ...yujevu āsvāsanāya dhammacaranāya ca amtā
16. ...ca lipī anucātumāsi(= sa)m sota(v)i(y)ā (t)isehi amtarā pi (break in slab)
17. ...hi khanasi khanas(i)...taviyā hevam
18. ...ghata sampaṭi...

APPENDIX-II(C)
Texts of the Aśokan Edicts from Sannati

As read by Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore: in *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, nos. 1-2, (New Delhi, 1990), pp. 39-42: Plates.

Rock Edict XII

1. ...pā...lana...
2. ...ākālenā he...
3. ...tu atā[2]-pāsaḍa[3] cha chha...la-pāsa...
4. ...galahati save ata-pāsaḍa[4]...kiti a (ta)[5]
5. ...t(i) ata-pāsaḍa[6] se samavāye va sā...ma...sa (dham) ma (m) sunēvu cha...
6. ...sava-pāsaṁḍa[7] bahu-sutā cha kayānāgama[8]...
7. va maṁnati[9] atha kiti sāla-vaḍhī (si)...kā(cha)...
8. mahāmātā[10] vacha-bhūmikā[11] (cha) aṁne cha[12] ni...

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1. The Sannati Rock Edicts XII and XIV have been edited by I.K. Sarma, R.V. Siva Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao (hereafter Sarma *et al)* in *Bulletin, Indian Museum* (Calcutta, 1989), pp. 7-1 and plates.
2. Sarma *et al* read *aṁta*.
3. Sarma *et al* read *paṣāḍha*.
4. *Ibid*.
5. Sarma *et al* read *u ta ma-ga*.
6. Sarma *et al* read *pāsaṁḍa*.
7. *Ibid*.
8. Sarma *et al* read *kiyā nā ga ma*
9. Sarma *et al* read *cha (sa) gha ti*.
10. Sarma *et al* read *ma hā (-)*.
11. Sarma *et al* read *va cha rāji mi ka*. They were obviously misled by a break at the top of the letter *bh* thus making it appear like *rāji* at first sight.
12. Sarma *et al* read this letter as *dhi*.

Translation

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...(hurting) his own sect...other sects...
4. ...blames...all out of (devotion to) one's own sect...or...one's own...
5. ...his own sect. Therefore concord alone is (meritorious), should heed...morals...
6. ...all sects should be erudite and should be pure in doctrine...
7. ...value...as the promotion of the essentials...And...
8. ...the *mahāmātras*...the inspectors of cow-pens, and other...

Rock Edict XIV

1. (i)yaṁ dhaṁma-lipi Devānaṁpiyeṇa[1]..(pitā)...va sa (ṁ)...
2. no hi savati[2] sava ghaṭite[3]...
3. tasa tasa a(ṭha)sa mādhuliyāye[4]...tathā pa...
4. kālanaṁ va alochayatu lipikalāpa(lā)dhē(na*) vā ti[5]...

Translation

1. These edicts on mórality (have been caused to be written) by ...Devānaṁpiya...
2. Indeed the whole was not suitable everywhere...
3. The charm of such and such topics...
4. Because of dislike of my motive or because of the writer's lapse...

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1. Sarma *et al* read this letter as *na.*
2. Sarma *et al* read this letter as *sa ma ti.*
3. Sarma *et al* read this letter as *ghava.*
4. Sarma *et al* read this letter as *ma ta (du) li ya ye.*
5. Sarma *et al* read this as *li pi ka (sa) pa (–) dh (–) nu-*

Separate Rock Edict II[1]

1. ...anuvig(i)...
2. ...sevu cha sukhameva cha labh(ev)u[2]
3. ...yena cha hevaṁ pāpunevu rājā ne kham(i)[3]
4. ye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ va[4]dhaṁmaṁ charevū hida...
5. cha paralokaṁ cha ārādhayevu (l*) etāya cha aṭhāya hakaṁ tuphe...
6. anusāsāmi aṇaṁṇe[5]hakaṁ tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha ditu
7. yā hi mama dhiti patiṁnā[6]cha a(cha)lā (l*) sāti hevaṁ kaṭu kaṁme charitaviye
8. āsvāsetaviyā cha te yena[7]cha te hevaṁ pāpunevu athā pita hevaṁ
9. (ne)rājā yathā cha atānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ apheni ya(thā)[8] (l*)
10. chakaṁ pajā hevaṁ ma(yi) se hakaṁ tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha

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1. Sannati Separate Rock Edicts I & II have been edited by I.K. Sarma, G.V. Srinivasa Rao and J. Varaprasada Rao (hereafter Sarma *et al*) in *Ratna Chandrikā* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 403-17 and plates. It is wrong to call the Sannati edicts as Rock Edicts, as these were not engraved on open Rocks as is the case of the Aśokan edicts everywhere and generally refered to likewise except Pillar edicts.
2. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *rabhavu.*
3. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *khama(ṁ).*
4. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *ve.*
5. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *anumo.*
6. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā ,* read this as *patini*
7. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *toyana*
8. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrika,* read this as *apheniya (ṁ)*

11. ditu desāvutike etasi athasi hohāmi (l*) alaṁ hi tuphe āsvāsanāye
12. hita-sukhāye cha tesaṁ hidalokika[1] pāralokikāye(l*) etaṁ cha hevaṁ
13. karaṁtaṁ svag(aṁ cha) ārodhesātha mama cha ānaniyaṁ ehatha (l*) etā.
14. ...ya iyaṁ lipī[2]hida likhitā[3]athā mahāmātā sāsvataṁ
15. ...yujevu āsvāsanāya dhaṁma-charanāya cha aṁtā-
16. ...(l^{A})...cha lipī[4]anuchātumāsi[5] sota(vi)yā[6](ti)seni[7](l*) aṁtarāpi[8]
17. ...hi khanasi khanasi[9]taviyā (l*) hevaṁ
18. ...ghata saṁpaṭi...

Translation

1. ...
2. ...and may obtain only happiness...
3. ...and may learn that the king will (forgive)...
4. ...what can be forgiven; they may because of me practise morality;...in this (world)
5. ...obtain happiness...and in the other world. And for this purpose I am instructing you...
6-10. That I may discharge the debt by this and inform you of my will (that is) of my unshakeable resolution and vow. Therefore you must thus engage in hard work and inspire them with confidence and exhort them whereby they will realize that the

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1. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *hidaloka ka(ṁ)*
2. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *lipi*
3. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *likhita*
4. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *lipi*
5. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *one chātu māmi*
6. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *sotayi*
7. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *sehi*
8. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *antalāpi*
9. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *sarena.*

king is unto them like a father, that he is as considerate towards them as he is unto his own self, that they are to the king like his own children.

10-11. Having thus instructed you and informed you of my will I shall appoint officers all over the land for this purpose.

11-12. Indeed you are able to inspire them with confidence for their welfare and confidence in this world and in the other world.

12-13. By acting thus you will ascend to heaven and you will discharge what you owe me.

13-15. For the following (purpose) has this edict been written here so that the *mahāmātras* may at all times strive to inspire the borderers with confidence and exhort them to practise morality.

16. And this edict must be heard every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

17-18. Even in between it may be (listened to) every now and then...

Separate Rock Edict I

1. ... viye
2. ... anaṁnē
3 ... thī Devānaṁ[1]
4. ...
5. ... dhī
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...
9. ...
10. ... cha karaṁtaṁ[2]

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1. Sarma *et al, Ratna Chandrikā,* read this as *ya javāram.*
2. The text is too fragmentary for any translation.

11. ... aṭhāye
12. ... uje
13. ...
14. ...
15. ...karaṁ(ti)a...
16. ... (tā)ye va aṭhā...va vagaṁ n(o) khāma...niatikāmesati...
17. ... payitu atane...nisaṁti taṁ pi he(vaṁ) ka...
18. ...sathīti

Part II

Other Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati

Other Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati

VI. Location: Details of Discovery: Dating of the Records

(Late) Prof. M. Seshadri[1] published, for the first time, some inscribed and sculptured members discovered during the field work undertaken at this place between April 1965 and January, 1966. The discoveries were mostly from the precincts of the Chandralāṁbā Temple, and from the basement of a *stūpa* in ruins adjoining the river (D-1 to D-6). Seshadri observed[2] that,they are "typically Sātavāhana, these reliefs open up a new chapter in the art history of Karnataka. They range in time from the first to third centuries A.D. on the basis of stylistic evidence corroborated by the Palaeography of the inscriptions in Prākṛit", although he opined earlier that the relief sculptures "range in time from the first century[3] B.C. to the third century A.D. judged on the basis of stylistic evidence".

In the annual report of Indian Epigraphy for the year 1966-67, 31 inscriptions were listed, of which two (nos. 226 and 227) were of the times of Chāḷukyan King Vinayāditya, the remaining (29) were in

Brāhmī characters assignable to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. The stone slabs containing these records were found from various spots[4] in and around the village of Sannati- Segiyappa's house (no. C-13), Md. Ali's house (no. D-7), House of Birappa (no. B-8), Steps of bathing ghat near Chandralāṁbā Temple (B-9), Mallayanaguḍī (E-13), Temple of Devamma (E-14), Hanuman Temple (nos. E-15, B-3), Lingappa's house (nos. E-16, E-17), Field of Channabasappa Gowda (D-6), Bhoolappa's house (E-18), Rajanna's house (E-19), Basavanna's Temple (E-20), Chandralāṁbā Temple (B-5, C-15, B-10, D-1, E-21 to E-25), and slabs kept in the Government Museum, Gulbarga, (B-2, C-9, C-14, D-4, D-10, E-6). In the Annual Report[5] for the year 1968-69, eleven more records were reported. They are from the premises of Chandralāṁbā Temple (nos. A-2, D-5, D-11, E-26 to E-29), Bathing *ghāt* near the same temple (E-30), and Government Museum, Gulbarga (nos. D-2, E-3, A-4). P. B. Desai[6] noted that these inscriptions "are engraved in well formed Brāhmī script and Prākṛit language", and "on Palaeographical grounds the majority may be assigned to the period between the first and the second century A.D. one or two might be just about a century earlier or later". Further P.B. Desai specially refers two important sculptured scenes[7]–labelled as *Majana* (big man) and *Pemanusa* (lovable person) included here under D-8 and D-9. Another sculptured slab mentioned two ladies in the royal service (*amāchi,* B-6). D. Mitra sees Sannati as a flourishing Buddhist Centre "in a highly affluent state from Ist century B.C. to atleast the third century[8] A.D." M.S. Nagaraja Rao, while taking[9] stock of the sculptured and inscribed members from the site, has added 10 more new inscriptions to the already noticed examples. These are nos. B-7, C-9, C-10, C-11, D-3, D-5, E-1, E-2, E-4 and E-31.

Thus nearly 52 records were known before the discovery of the four Aśokan records detailed under Part I above. The place has gained prominence due to the impending threat of submergence of the area under the Bhīmā Irrigation (Flow) Project. It was, therefore, decided to intensify the explorations around followed by

excavations at select spots between the year 1987-90 (*Supra*- Part-I). In this effort, apart from the four Aśokan Edicts detailed above, 21 inscriptions (A-1, A-3, B-1, B-4, C-1 to C-8, C-16, E-5, E-7 to E-12 and E-32), big and small, associated with sculptured reliefs were found in the field Surveys undertaken during the year 1988-90 mainly by the second author, of the Hyderabad Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. Only one inscription (B-1) was discovered from the excavated *stūpa* site (SAN-1), while the majority have been found in different localities of the village either reused in the partition walls of houses or bunds within the cultivated fields and in the high terrace of the Chandralāṁbā Temple complex (SAN-6). As a result, most of the slabs were found broken, the inscriptional faces partly defaced. Several other parts of the inscriptions and sculptured stones can be retrieved if the temple complex, its random rubble built stone-slab walls are dismantled. A thorough scrutiny and revision would then be highly rewarding.

In recent months K.P. Poonacha of the Bangalore Circle has explored the submersible areas around Sannati and adjoining villages. In this endeavour he found four inscribed and sculptured fragments, B-8, D-8(b), E–32 and E-33. He has very kindly provided the photographs, for the study of the first author.

To sum up, in all 81 inscriptions are compiled here. Apart from the four Aśokan Edicts under Part I, the remaining 77 nos. are detailed under five major groups (A to E). The above epigraphical wealth renders this site unique in many respects and undoubtedly a remarkable variety of early historical mounds here await the surgical spade of the Archaeologist.

Notes and References

1. M. Seshadri, "Buddhist Monuments at Sannathi", *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*" Vol. LVI, nos. 1-4, (Bangalore, 1966), pp. 35-37 (=*QJMS*).

2. M. Seshadri, "Buddhist Monuments in Mysore. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXIV, nos. 2/3 (Ascona 1972), pp. 169-170 (=*AA*)"
3. *QJMS*, LVI (1966), p. 36. Even recently S. Nagaraju tried to push back the date to first century B.C. though none of the sculptures and inscriptions warrant such an early date. S. Nagaraju "Vestiges of Buddhist Art" *MARG, Heritage of Karnataka*, (Bombay, 1982), p. 27.
4. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report on *Indian Epigraphy 1966-67*, (Mysore, 1972), pp. 37-39 (=*ARIE*).
5. *ARIE 1968-69*, (Mysore, 1974), pp. 31-32. *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 37. The reports say-"Twenty inscriptions engraved in Brāhmī characters and Prākṛit language belong to circa 2nd century A.D." were found.
6. P.B. Desai, "A New Buddhist Centre", *The Journal of the Karnataka University, Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, (Dharwad, 1968) p. 8 (=Desai, 1968).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 7, only D-8 is illustrated as Pl. 8.
8. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, (Calcutta, 1971), p.190.
9. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, "Brāhmī Inscriptions and Their Bearing on the Great Stūpa at Sannati", in Frederic Asher and G.S. Gai (ed), *Indian Epigraphy –Its Bearing on the History of Art*, (Varanasi, 1985), pp. 41-43. (=Rao, 1985).

VII. (A) Epigraphs of the Sātavāhana Rulers

In this category we have four inscriptions; A-l vividly narrates the exploits of King Siri Sātakarṇi. In the absence of the metronymic it may not be possible to be on surer ground for the identification of the monarch referred to therein. While A-2 belongs to the time of Vāśishṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi, A-3 is of the times of Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḍumāvi. The fourth (A-4) refers to one Mahā Sāthavāhana Agni Śarmā.

All the fragmentary records are undated. The Brāhmī characters clearly recall the later Sātavāhana-Ikshvāku inscriptions datable to 2nd-3rd century A.D., the language being Prākṛit. The curly flourishes of medial 'U' and 'i' , angular ends of the letters, and the serifs point out to the developed later Sātavāhana writing style.

A.1: Inscribed Stele of the time of Siri Sātakarṇi

(*Pl.* 12, 1A, 1B and *Pl.* 13, 1C)

This sculptured slab was discovered by the second author from the field behind the Inspection Bungalow (SAN-8) on 14th July, 1989. The slab measures 1.55 (m) lengthx83 (cm) width and 32 (cm) thick. The inscription is at the lower broad border of sculptured stele, in two lines, occupying to a length of 1.22 (m). The top portion of the sculpture is damaged while the lower plain border has the inscribed lines. The part below has square rafter ends in the base (*tulā pīṭha*). This stele must have been set up at a prominent place for the public view.

The extant sculptured part reveals all females, within the royal household, mostly seated on low cushions in a row while in the upper a few are shown frontally at base. As if in a mourning session, these female beauties are clearly panicky stricken, seated desolate on circular cushions (*maṇḍalāgra bṛisi*), around a central figure and exhibit a sorrowful event. The rich attire, the bedecked and

bunched-up *veṇis (Jaḍa guchchās)*, the multiple *mekhalas*, the armlets and wristlets clearly reveal that the female folk were from the Palace. We are here reminded of certain early customs where women express their grief in sundry ways, also by dance and music. Among the South Indian Communities one can find women joining together and in a weeping tone sing songs, play musical instruments and dance too. *Mahākāvyas*[2] refer to dead heroes welcomed by celestial damsels. "*Jitena labhyate-pṛithvī, mṛitēnāpi Surānganaḥ*", victory brings wealth, death the clasp of heavenly nymphs. In the relief sculptures of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda[3] one finds such scenes very often. The most notable example is a five-panelled sculptured and inscribed pillar set up by ladies of the Palace, mothers, sisters, queens and even two concubines of the deceased monarch Vāśishṭhīputra Siri Chamtamūla, the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty of Vijayapurī. The sculptural scenes, related to the Palace interior portraying the life story of the king, his pious acts, the king in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on a throne surrounded by ladies of the royal household, three of them musicians and one dancing to the tune, besides his two queens. The uppermost panel delineates an edifice in three vertical panels symbolic of the *Vīrasvarga*. Another sculptured memorial of a Prince named *Eli Ehavula*, the person is shown similarly seated on throne, having to his left a female dancer while to the right a lady playing *vīṇā*, two others seated below in a pensive mood. Sometimes the subject of depiction may not necessarily be the death scene, for example, Siddhārtha's renunciation, impending death of King Māndhātā and so on to cite a few.[4]

In this sculpture we are perhaps glancing a bedridden King Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (Centre spread), the illustrious father of the ruling monarchs Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Sātakarṇi. A mere look at the lower part of inscription reveals many territories, hills and kings,as in the Nasik *Praśasti* of Puḷumāvi,[5] regnal year-19, but with more significant contents and subtle variations from the latter. In any case, there is no doubt in the fact, that the present sculptured stele is of far reaching historical importance and throws fresh light on the history of later Sātavāhanas, in particular, and their role in

Dakshiṇāpatha.

The text part reveals that the contents of the record are not much different from the famous Nasik inscription of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvī, regnal year-19(149 A.D.) which narrates in *extenso* the exploits, achievements and splendid personality of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, the grand monarch of the *Sātavāhana Kula*. The record is in Brāhmī characters and Prākṛit language of 2nd century A.D. The letters are closely written, sometimes overlapping each other. The vertical ends and the vowel marks are indicated by unusually flourishing curls (*a* and *ka*) recalling the Ikshvāku calligraphy. The letter *ra* is somewhat peculiar in as much as the lower vertical and its hook-end are looted angularly. Unfortunately the beginning of the record, the sculptured part and the portions at the extreme ends are mutilated. In the absence of the *maṅgaḷādi,* the matrynomic of the king and the regnal year, we are not in a position to be specific as regards the name of the issuer but nevertheless the various epithets and style of narration stand in close comparison to the Nasik *Praśastī.*

The Text:

1. *-.-.(Putas)iri Sātakaṇisa Samuditabalavāhanasa Abhagavāhanasa*[6]*-.-.Sātavāhanasa Beṁṇākaṭa Vidabha Uparigirāparānta Asaka Mūḍakasa Jayavi Chakora Vala Raṭha Dakhina-.-.*

2. *-.-.Sūsakasa Pitusatuvera niyātakasa anekasaṅgāmavijita vijayasa khakharatakulaghātakasa anēkarājamathaka patigahitasa padanasāsanasa ekakusasa ekadhanudha.-.-*

The text reveals the military achievements and exploits of Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Although it is difficult to specify the issuer of the inscription it reveals certain important historical events. The king referred herein is eulogised as *Abhagavāhanaḥ, Sātavāhanaḥ,* Lord of *Beṁṇākaṭaka, Vidarbha, Uparigirī, Aparānta, Asaka, Mūlaka, Jayavi, Chakora, Ratta, Dakhina,* victorious in many wars, destroyer *(Kulaghāta)* of *Kshaharāta, Kshātrapa kula* (Nahapāṇa's line), capturer of many kings and their crowns (*anēka rājamastaka prati grahīta) ēkakuśasa* and *ēkadhanudha(rasa).*

Detailed Examination of the Contents

The above text of the inscription, though incomplete, has some distinct features. The geographical contexts and places mentioned here require a thorough identification, keeping in mind the other known records of the later Sātavāhana rulers. An attempt in this direction is made here .

Beṁṇākaṭa and Vidabha[8]

Beṁṇākaṭa appears to be a prominent city located contiguous to Vidarbha, *i.e.* eastern part of Maharashtra which comprises of the valley of Payoshṇī, the modern Pūrṇa and middle part of Tapti and western part of Berar.[9] The Nasik inscription dated in the regnal year-18 of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was issued from the war camp (*Senāye Vaijayantīye*) at Banavasi in North Karnataka which is somewhat closer to Sannati. Of great significance is the appellation of the ruling king as *Govardhanasa Benākaṭakā svāmī, i.e.* Lord of *Beṁṇākaṭa*.[10] Govardhana is a district of Nasik and Beṁṇākaṭa like Dhaṁñakaṭa (or *kaḍa*) is a place or town on the river *ghāṭ*.

In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions Beṇākataka or *Benataṭa* denoted the area on the banks of the river *Veṇa* or *Kanha Bemṇa* or Kaṇhan, a tributary of Wainagangā past the villages of Khapa and Takalghat[11] in Vidarbha region.

The crucial thing is why the change of the capital of the Sātavāhana King Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi from Pratishṭhāna to Beṇākaṭaka? The inscription of year-18 was issued from the victorious war camp and contains the order of the monarch to Vishṇupālita, the minister at Govardhana regarding the transfer of the land in the village of North Kakhadi to the monks living at Trirashmi mountain[12] after freeing it from the possession of Rishabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahāpāṇa. Several such grants[13] were renewed by Gautamīputra after this political gain. This clearly indicates some territorial victories accomplished by Gautamīputra over the Kshaharāṭa Kshatrapas.

Uparigirī and *Aparānta*

The place named *Uparigirī* might be Uparkot, a hill fort, or alternately *Girinagara*[14] or Girnar in Junagarh District of Gujarat. In the *Sabhāparva* of Mahābhārata Uparigirī is mentioned—"*Uttarādivasthali Parvatah. tatra rājasūya digvijayārtha Arjunasya gamanaṁ*". In our record the reference appears to be more relevant in its application—*Uparigirāparānta,* the compound indicates that the territory of Saurashtra where Uparigirī is located (Southern Gujarat) and *Aparānta* the North Konkan on West Coast with capital at Sūrparaka, *i.e.* Sopara, were the territories under Kshaharāta Nahapāṇa, a little earlier.

It may be seen that in Nasik-Cave inscription of the 19th regnal year of Puḷumāvi, as also in the Junagarh *Praśastī* of Rudradāman year-72, the expression is "*Kukurāparānta*"[15] that is the territory extending from North Kathiawar near Anārta to the *Aparānta*. Thus a wider extent in terms of territories and this was so because Kārdamaka Chasṭhana gained all these territories of the Sātavāhanas from Gautamīputra and his successors.

Asaka and *Mūlaka*

Asaka and *Mūlaka* are contiguous to each other on river Godavari.[16] *Asaka* or its variant Assaka,[17] regarded as *Aśmaka*,[18] comprised of Nanded, Nizamabad-Karimnagar, Warangal, Hyderabad and Medak Districts of Andhra Pradesh. Its capital was Bodhan (Paudanya) in Nizamabad District.

A terracotta sealing bearing the legend "*Asakasa Janapadasa*" was found in Adam excavations 55-kms. South-east of Nagpur. The legend is to be read ante-clock wise along the outer line, while a tree-in-railing within a square bordered frame is centrally placed. This appears to be the logo of *Assaka-Janapada*. The rear part of the sealing has a groove mark indicating its fixure to a consignment. The letters and motif are indent and hence stamped. Amarendranath[19] dates it

to 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. and is of the view that Asikanagara and Beṇākaṭa are within this *Asaka–Janapada* and Adam is Asikanagara and Pauni regarded as Benākaṭaka.

Mūḍaka or Mūlaka is in Western Maharashtra and its city is *Pratishṭhāna,*[20] modern Paiṭhan, the chief city of Sātavāhanas right from the beginning. There is no doubt that Asika-Asaka-Mūlaka are distinct but contiguous territories, forming the nucleus of the Sātavāhana empire.

Jayavi

Jayavi could not be properly identified. It may be a territory or name of a hill range closer to Chakora, better say north of Chakora.

Chakora

The 'Patridge mountain'[21] is mentioned in association with Śrīparvata or *Siritana* in *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa "Śrī parvatas chakorāścha Śatasomye cha parvatah*". The Chakora hill was mentioned along with Setagirī[22] (Siddhuladarī) located in the Ikshvāku city of Śrīparvata Vijayapurī (Nagarjunakonda) in the Nasik record of Puḷumāvi, year –19.

Vala

This is perhaps Valabhi[23] (*Valla*) in District Bhavnagar of Gujarat. Vala became a scholastic centre of Buddhism during the rule of Maitrakas. This was a seaport too, Wala (Wallay) on the western shore of the gulf of Cambay in Kathiawar Gujarat, 25km. North west of Bhavnagar.

Raṭha

This is located in Khandesh and Ahmadnagar areas. *Raṭhikas*[24] and *Bhojakas* together were mentioned in the Hathigumpha *Praśasti*

of Khāravela. In the Aśokan Edicts (5th Rock Edict), Rathikas occur in association with the Pitinikas, Andhra and Pulindas.[25]

Dakhina

This is *Dakshiṇa,* the Deccan Peninsula.

The qualities of the king are enumerated in line 2 of the record. To begin with *(Su)Sūsakasa* can be restored as "*avipanamātususūsakasa*", based on Nasik *Praśasti* of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (line 4) which meant steadfast in the service of his mother.

Pitusa Tuvera niyatakasa

Tuvera pitrasya niryatitasya,[26] reappointed (perhaps restored to position), the father of Tuvera, who seems to be a Yavana minister.

Anekasangāma vijita vijayasa

Aneka sangrāma svayaṁ vijita vijayakhyātah, victorious in several wars or renowned as a conqueror in several wars by dint of his valour.

This clearly reflects the political unrest of the time and the successful wars undertaken by the king himself as the Commander at the behest of the army. The eventful state of affairs were echoed in the Nasik Cave inscriptions[27] of the year-18 and in the record of the year-24 issued by the royal mother (*jīvaputasa rājamātuya vachanena*) which indicates serious illness of Gautamīputra.[28] The present record of Sannati appears to illustrate this serious situation. The epithet "*khakarāta kulaghātakasa*" Skt. *kshaharāta kulaghātakasya,* thereby meaning that the *kshaharāta-kshatrapakula* was given a deadly blow. Subsequently we hear from Nasik *Praśasti* of the year-19 of King Puḷumāvi how Gautamīputra destroyed to the root the very *vaṁśa* of the *kshaharātas (khakarata vasa niravasesakarasa*).[29] A subtle distinction here is, therefore, implied.

In the present record, the King Gautamīputra caused a deadly blow to the *kula* but did not destroy altogether. This clearly relates to the uprooting to the Nahapāṇa from *Uparigiri* and *Aparānta,* not the other regions on the West Coast which were still with *kshaharātas*. The restriking of the silver coins of Nahapāṇa by Gautamīputra (Jogalthambi Hoard) was perhaps the result of this remarkable[30] political gain. Be that as it may, new evidence is forthcoming in the form of restruck coins of Nahapāṇa by Sases, who was a successor of both Azes and Gondophares. Sases rule falls into the time span of circa, 20 B.C. to 20 A.D. If Sases overstruck Nahapāṇa's coins, then Nahapāṇa's date must fall in this period. Therefore, R.C. Senior has proposed that the year-42 of Nasik inscription and 46 of Junnar record should be regarded as dated in the era of 57 B.C. (*Vikrama*) and so they are datable to 15 and 11 B.C. respectively. Nahapāṇa's rule ended perhaps before 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra. The chronology of the later Sātavāhanas thus merits a revision on the earlier side, say by about 60 years. Gautamīputra may have ascended the throne during the last decade before Christ, say by 10 B.C. and ruled up to 24 A.D.[31] The Sannati record, therefore, undoubtedly takes precedence and these events narrated should, therefore, be placed earlier in his military campaigns.

The epithet "*aneka rājamastaka pratigrahitasya* also illustrates vividly the political accomplishments of Sātakarṇi, over the then ruling kings of the Deccan. The other attributes like *padāna sāsanasya,* chief law-maker (*pradhāna śāsanakarasya*) *ekakusasa*[32] (*ekānkuśasya*) and *ekadhanudharasa* (*ekadhanurdharasya*) which were also found in the Nasik *Praśasti* of Puḷumāvi are merely conventional.

From what has been stated above, it is clear that the record refers to the military achievements, narrates some noble acts of Gautamīputra, the grand monarch, who restored the prestige of *Sātavāhana kula*. The stele seems to be a set up after the monarch's 24th regnal year and during this very year due to illness he abdicated the throne.[33] He lived perhaps till 34th regnal year as stated in the

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. It may be seen that the narrative is confined only to the actual exploits of the monarch in Deccan, part of Surāshṭra and Aparānta territories along the West Coast, so that his achievements are highlighted to the subjects of Andhra-Karnataka which were totally annexed to the Sātavāhana empire by him a few years back. The fortifications at Sannati (SAN-2), the *Raṇamaṇḍala i.e.* war field and the inscriptions of many Sātavāhana Kings (See *infra*) at this very place seem to make Sannati an important Provincial capital of the Imperial Sātavāhanas during this period. Several important and highly placed officials of the royal house associated themselves with meritorious donations and raised memorials for the deceased. The *Chhā Patharo*[34] set up at Banavasi raised in memory of the dead queen by Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḍumāvi speaks again of the relationship between the royal houses of Banavasi and Pratishṭhāna.

Notes and References

1. A first hand report on this discovery was immediately presented by us at the XVI Annual Session of the Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore (Feb. 16-18, 1990). It is unfortunate that the learned editors omitted it from publication in the Journal which was released in 1991 as a result the scholarly world is not aware of such a remarkable epigraph, though promptly reported by us at Mysore and scholars present at the Annual Session greatly appreciated this discovery.

2. Cf. *Mahābhārata:* Śāntiparva, adhyāya, 98.72 (Bombay, 1907). Also *Karnāṭaka Darśana*, (Bombay, 1955), p. 23.

3. I. K. Sarma, "Select · Inscriptions of Ikshvāku rulers of Nagarjunakonda" *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXIX (Madras, 1963), pp. 49-50 Pl. I. and H. Sarkar, "The Caya Stambhas from Nagarjunakonda" in S. Settar and Gunther D' Sontheimer (ED) *Memorial Stones*, (Dharwad, 1982), pp. 199-207.

4. A.H. Longhurst, "*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda, Madras*

Presidency', Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 54 (Calcutta, 1938), pp. 44-45, 47-48, Pls. XXXIX, B & XLIII (b).

5. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* Vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 203-204 (=*SII*)

6. *Abhagavāhana* = *abhaga* is dark cloud; stands for *Meghavāhana*.

7. See the *Sandhi, Uparigiri "Aparānta = Uparigirā Parānta."*

8. *SII,* pp. 197-199; *Ep. Ind,* VIII, p. 71.

9. E.J. Rapson, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum: Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, The Western Kshatrapas* etc. (London, 1908), p. xxxii (=Rapson) *SII,* p. 205, note. 5.

10. *SII,* p. 198, note 4.

11. I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* (New Delhi, 1980), pp. 127-129.

12. Rapson, pp. XLvii-Lvi.

13. Rapson, pp. xxix, several such grants were renewed after the victory of Gautamīputra, See. p. XLIX.

14. R.N. Mehta "Sudarśana Lake" *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* VoL. XVIII, (Baroda,1968), pp. 20-28.

15. *SII,* pp. 178-203. N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India,* (Reprint, New Delhi 1982), pp. 9-10.

16. *SII,* pp. 203, line 2 & 205, note 5. See also H.S. Thosar, "Identification of Aśmaka and Mulaka" *Journal of the Place Name Society of India* (Mysore, 1989), pp. 12-16.

17. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of Deccan,* p. 17, I.K. Sarma *op.cit* (1980), pp. 30-31 & 66.

18. *Sā āssakasa visaye mulakassa samāsane vāsī Godāvarīkule uñchena cha phalena cha" Sūttanipāta, II Pārāyaṇa Vaggō Vathugātha,* 5,2.

19. Amarendra Nath, "Toponymy of Asaka and Asika" *Indica*, Vol. 27 (Bombay, 1990), no. 2, pp. 87-96.

20. Rapson, p. xxxi, I.K. Ṣarma (1980), pp. 31, 33 & 127-129.

21. Rapson, p. xxxv, *SII*, pp. 203, note. 4, 204 note. 1.

22. *Ep. Ind.*, xxxiv, p. 200; *SII*, p. 197. Text line 3 I.K. Sarma, in *Indica*, vol. 7 no. 1. (Bombay, 1970) pp. 6, 14-15.

23. D.C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, (New Delhi, 1971), p. 208. D. Mitra (1971) *op.cit.*, pp. 141-143. Could it be a contraction for *Valūraka*, a place where monks lived. They were granted. the village of Karajaka in Northern division of *Māmala-ahara* where Karle is also situated. Gautamīputra renews the grant of this village to the ascetics of *valūraka*. Karle inscription year-18. Rapson, p. XLIX, Also *SII*, no. 85. p. 202.

24. Rapson, p. xxi ft. note. 4; I.K. Sarma (1980), p. 127; *SII*, p. 215, line 6.

25. *SII*, p. 22.

26. In the Nasik *Praśastī* of Puḷumāvī year-19, Gautamīputra is stated as - *Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava nisūdana* but at the same time he is described as "*dharmopa chitakara viniyōgakasya* and *Kritāparādho api śatrujana a prāṇahimsā rucheḥ*". *SII*, pp. 204-206, line 5.

27. *SII*, pp. 197-199, I.K. Sarma (1980), pp. 16-17.

28. *SII*, pp. 200 notes 4 & 201.

29. *SII*, p. 204, line 6.

30. I.K. Sarma, (1980), pp. 132-134.

31. R.C. Senior, "The Early Western Satraps" *Oriental Numismatic Society, Newsletter* No. 129 (London, 1991). The coin was originally found in Taxila excavations by Sir John Marshall. However, we do not agree to the contention of R.C. Senior that the *Kārdamaka*

Kshatrapa Chashṭhana's line also issued their records in Vikram era. As stated earlier, we still regard Chashṭhana as the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A.D., as proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham, though contemporainty with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is questionable. Chashṭhana may have come in conflict with the immediate successor of Gautamīputra and thus heralded the Śaka era. In this work, however, we have continued to adopt sequence and chronology as proposed by us in 1980. See I.K. Sarma (1980), pp. 13-23. B.N. Mukherjee, "The Vikrama and Śaka eras-observations on their beginnings and their early life in Eastern India", *Indian Museum Bulletin* VoL: XX, (Calcutta, 1985), pp. 7-14, & Appendix-I, pp. 26-27.

32. I.K. Sarma (1980), pp. 3-4.

33. I.K. Sarma (1980), p. 134.

34. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I (Mysore, 1974), pp. 36-39.

A.2: Inscription of the time of Vāśishṭhiputra Sri Sātakarṇi
(*Pl.* 14 A-2)

The inscription was reported as a single line record by G.S. Gai[1] kept in the Chandralāṁbā Temple (slab no. 1) but actually it is a three-lined one. It was found near the *stūpa* site (SAN-4) and M.S. Nagaraja Rao[2] published an estampage of the record. The text is in three lines in Brāhmī characters datable to 2nd century A.D. The ends of first line and third line are lost and, therefore, the text is incomplete.

Text:

Line 1 *Siddhaṁ Rañō Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri Sāta...*
Line 2 *Pavajitena Nāgabudhi (nā) antevāsinīya bhikuṇīyā*
Line 3 *Yakhiyāya....*

Translation:

Auspicious *Siddhaṁ*: of the time of Rājan Vāśishṭhīputra *Śrī Sāta(karṇi),* a nun internee (*antevāsini*) named Nāgabudhī caused...(subject lost) a *Yaksha* (perhaps a figure).

Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, younger son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled for 29 years between 116-145 A.D. He is closely aligned to the Śaka-Kshatrapa house for he appears to have married a Kshatrapa Princess, perhaps Rudradāman's daughter.[3] The inscriptions are few but coins attest to his rule, more specially in Southern Andhra,[4] (Nellore-Cuddapah-Anantapur regions), Chandravalli, (Karnataka), Brahmapuri-Ter in Southern Maharashtra and Saurashtra as well.[5]

The *Purāṇas,* except *BrahmāṇḍaPurāṇa* do not generally mention this collateral line but he was undoubtedly an imperial ruler of the dynasty and this record proves that he held control over Northern Karnataka as well.

A.3: Inscription of the time of Śiva Śrī Puḍumāvi (*Pl.* 15)

An inscribed lime stone slab measuring 46x35x17 cm. was located in the compound wall of a house in Sannati village (SAN-9) by the second author. The inscription has only six lines and covers two faces of the slab. The letters along with their vowel marks possess curly flourishes overlapping each others of even different rows. These flourishes recall the typical Ikshvāku calligraphy. The text of the inscription is not complete as the slab was found damaged on both the sides in such a way the beginnings and terminals of the lines and the central part (third line) are defaced. It appears to specify the pious set up of some sculptured parts like *dvārapāla* and *chakrapaṭa* by some persons, including one from Navasi, and Sudha during the time of King Śiva Śrī Puḍumāvi.

First Face

1....*Putō Śiva Siri Puḍu (ma)*
2....*(na) su Kinādikesu Kadamūla....*
3....*Ya Ya - Telasa*
4....*Tapāna Karetēnam Navasi*

Second Face

5....*Atāpasaṅevā navasitava dāranā (la)*
6....*Tavō sudhāvāsikena chakaratiparivuthe*

The first available line of the inscription mentions the name of the Sātavāhana King Sivaśrī Puḍumāvi. There is a concentration of inscriptions of Vāśishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi in Northern Karnataka. It may be recalled that a memorial stone, in the memory of his Queen Mahādevī, was caused at Banavasi in North Kanara District about 250 km. south of Sannati.

A.4 Inscription of a Mahā Sāthavāhana (*Pl.* 14. A–4)

This sculptured slab is in the Govt. Museum Gulbarga[6] and listed by G.S. Gai. A robust male figure seated on a higher throne and flanked by two ladies on lower circular drum-like cushions. The Brāhmī inscription on the lower border reads, *n (h)asa Bhāradāyasa Kuṭubina Mahātarakasa mahā Sāthavāhanasa Agnisama(sa)...* Skt.: *Bhāradvājasya Kuṭumbinah Mahātarakaṇ mahā Sāthavāhana (ityādi birudākyātaḥ) Agniśarmā.*

The term *Mahātharaka* is like *Mahā daṇḍanāyaka* or *Mahāraṭhi,* an administrative position of importance in the royal court. *Mahā-sārtha vāhana: Sārthavāhas* and *Śreshṭhis* were actively associated with Buddhist *Sanghas*. If the reading is taken as *Sātavāhanah,* it is synonymous to *Mahā Saptivāhanaḥ;* perhaps a great devotee of Sūrya Nārāyaṇa, the *Saptivāhana,*[7] the family deity of the Sātavāhanas and the dynasty was named itself after this God.

Identifications:

At this stage we may recall that it was (late) Mahāmahopādhyāya V.V. Mirashi who held Śiva Śrī and Puḷumāvi (II) as identical and took the prefix *Śiva* as optional.[8] D.C. Sircar also held[9] that the coronation name of Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was Śiva Śrī. The discovery of Silver Portrait coins of Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi (Dhulikatta and Nasik), has settled this controversy.[10] The silver portrait coins bear distinct portraits of the kings, true-to-life and a mere look at these coins makes it amply clear that Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi were two different[11] rulers.

Śrī Puḷumāvi (II) was a *Dakshiṇā Patheśvara* and ruled[12] for 28 years (A.D. 88-116). His brother Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (IV), also an imperial ruler, ruled for 29 years (A.D. 116-145) while Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi ruled for seven years from A.D.

145-152. (Śiva) Skanda or Khaḍa Sātakarṇi was the son of Sātakarṇi (IV) and ruled between A.D. 152-165. All these rulers issued silver portrait coins with distinct royal portraits and found mentioned in the *Purāṇas* too as independent rulers. Apart from the inscriptions, the coin evidence is explicit in respect of these rulers. Not only in Karnataka and Andhra but in almost all the provinces of the Sātavāhana empire their coin types are known.

Numismatic Evidence

We may place here the numismatic evidence from Karnataka itself of the Post-Gautamīputra period.[13] The coins of lead, copper and potin were reported from Gonahal, Vadagaon-Madhavapur (Dt. Belgaum), Aihole, Banavasi, apart from Chandravalli and Chitradrug. To these the latest evidence from Sannati be added. The coins recently collected from the explorations and a few from the digs were examined by the first author (9th March, 1988), thanks to Mrs. James Howell who documented them very meticulously. The collection included 48 of lead and 7 copper coins majority of them are circular and a few square. They fall into two groups.

1. The circular lead issues bearing the legend *Raño Siri Yajña* are clearly those of Gautamīputra *Yajña* Śrī. (obverse. three arched or six arched hill, *reverse* UJN symbol with pellets in the circlets). Another class are of *Sātakarṇi; i.e.* the Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (IV), and Puḷumāvi etc. Square cast coins of copper were also found. They are of Puḍumāvi. All these coins are of Post-Gautamīputra period and found on the surface of the inner citadel (SAN-2).

2. The uninscribed smaller coins of lead, cast ones, are quite interesting indeed. The major obverse symbols in bold relief are three-arched crescented hill with wavy line below, *Nandipāda*, triangle-headed standard and Ujjain symbol on the reverse. These are uninscribed Sātavāhana issues, found from Chitradurga-Banavasi and Brahmapuri areas, along with the imperial issues.

In the absence of any evidence of this last King Puḷōhamāvi from Andhra-Karnataka, we have earlier reassigned the Myakadoni record to the 8th regnal year of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (II) son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as originally reported by its discoverers.[14] Following V.S. Sukthankar it was D.C. Sircar and others[15] who proposed that Myakadoni King was the 30th of the *Purāṇic* list and the last Puḷōhamāvi. Though mentioned in all the *Purāṇas* this last king had no metronymic and his rule is cited as seven years only.

Be that as it may, it is M.J. Sharma who corrected the regnal year as six and attributed this record again to Puḷōhamāvi, the last Sātavāhana ruler. Recently S.P. Tewari[16] endorsed this correction of the regnal year and says that "Myakadoni inscription can be positively assigned to Puḷumāvi (IV), the last king of the Sātavāhanas, without contravening the *Purāṇic* assignment of seven years for his reign". The utility (futility) of the corrections of regnal year apart, M.J. Sharma and S.P. Tewari have ignored several other important archaeological sources–numismatic and epigraphical.

In this exercise, both these writers have assigned, another pillar inscription of Vāśishṭhīputra[17] Siri Puḷumāvi from Vasana, District Dharwad, to the last Puḷumāvi (IV), by an assumed "clinching clue". The record refers to the consecrated deity as Chaṇḍa Śiva, a name which according to M.J. Sharma reminds "Puḷumāvi's predecessor Chaṇḍa Śrī and the temple is a memorial one, raised by Puḷumāvi (IV) in memory[18] of his father. Not satisfied, this very writer says that Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi mentioned in the Banavasi inscription[19] is identical with Vāśishṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi of the Vasana record and 'Śiva' is an honorific or optional prefix to the proper name. The coins bearing the legends "Raño Śiva Siri Puḷumāvisa" or Raño[20] Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Siri Puḷumāvisa were also regarded as issues of the last Sātavāhana King, Puḷumāvi (IV), the successor of Chaṇḍa Śrī, to whom all the three inscriptions of Banavasi, Myakadoni and Vasana were attributed. Thus the later Sātavāhana history in so far as it related to the Karnataka was made easy.

Now with the availability of three more records (A-1 to A-3), assigned to the three later Sātavāhana Kings from a single place like Sannati, and exhibiting closer palaeographical features with the earlier known epigraphs from Karnataka like those of Myakadoni, Banavasi and now Vasana, we have no doubt that North Karnataka areas along with the Coastal and Western Andhra were annexed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Sannati record (A-1) itself amply demonstrates these political events (*aneka rājamastaka pratigrihīta*). The two illustrious sons of Gautamīputra-Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (II) and Sātakarṇi (IV) consolidated the conquered territories and held firm control. The concentration of epigraphs of these later Sātavāhanas, including memorials raised for queens alike, not to speak of kings, proves the great involvement and family attachments of the Sātavāhanas in Karnataka. The ubiquitous coin evidence, outlined above from Sannati, again confirms this political set up. Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḍumāvī of Sannati is distinct from Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi of Myakadoni. 'Śiva' is not a mere optional prefix and the last Sātavāhana King (30th), the *purāṇic* Puḷōhamāvi did not rule in the South at all. "It would be a serious anachronism to accept that this last king ruled as far as Bellary region in Karnataka[21] and by implication Coastal Andhra too". The imperial Sātavāhanas after Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, steadily shrunk back and confined themselves to the original home province of Vidarbha, Aśmaka and Mūlaka.

Notes and References

1. *ARIE*, 1968-69, App. B. no. 87, p. 3.
2. RAO (1985), p. 41 no. 1, Pl. 55.
3. *JIH*, L 11 (1974), pp. 274-278.
4. I.K. Sarma (1980), pp. 100-101, 135-136.
5. I.K. Sarma (1980), pp. 230-241; Silver Portrait Coins.
6. *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 32 no. 97.
7. I.K. Sarma, "The Names Sātavāhana, Sātakarṇi etc." *Indica* Vol. 9, no. 1, (Bombay, 1972) p. 84.
8. V.V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, (New Delhi, 1975) pp. 164-166 *Archaeological Studies* Vol. I (Mysore, 1976) pp. 26-28 & 30.

9. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 210; *SII*, p. 212 note. 1.
10. A.M. Shastri in *Visveswarananda Indological Volume*, Vol. XIX (Hoshiarpur 1981), p. 6.
11. A.M. Shastri,"Sātavāhana Silver Coinage" *Studies in South Indian Coins*, Vol. I (Mysore, 1991), p. 51 note 35. See for portraits Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāvi p. 7 to p. 9 and Vāśishthīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi p. 12 I.K. Sarma (1980) pp. 134, 274-276 & 280.
12. *JESI*, XIII (1986). Recently a small record from Visapur is dated in the 28th regnal year, Shobhana Gokhale, (6 Km. south of Kanheri) pp. 31-32, no. 3, ft. note 12.
13. I.K. Sarma, (1980) pp. 45-46.
14. *Annual Report of the Asstt. Suptdg. for Epigraphy*, 1916-18, Vol. VI, no. 99. Home 29th Aug., 1916 pp. 112-113, Pl. IA, I.K. Sarma (1980), pp. 25-26.
15. V.S. Sukhthankar,"A New Andhra Inscription of Siri Puḷumāvi *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV (1921-22), pp. 153-155. *SII*, pp. 212 note 1 & 213.
16. S.P. Tewari,"On the Numerals of the Brāhmī records" in *South Asian Workshop on Epigraphy*, (Mysore, 25-31, 1985), p. 9.
17. M.J. Sharma,"Vasana Inscription of Vāśishṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi". *Epigraphia Indica*, XLI (Mysore, 1990), pp. 154-158.
18. *Epigraphia Indica*,. XLI, p. 156.
19. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. 1 (Mysore, 1974), p. 34.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
21. I.K. Sarma (1980), p. 26.

VIII. B Inscriptions of Amātyas and other Important Personages of the Royal Household

Under this class, 10 inscriptions were found. All have invariably sculptured panels above but found in fragmentary conditions in various places of the village mounds.

B.1. Inscription referring to an Amātyaputra: (*Pl.* 16)

This is a sculptured stone found during the excavations from the SAN-1 and bears Acc. no. 420. It measures 7x58x20 cm. and two sculptured panels survive. The upper panel portrays a seated couple flanked by two attendants, and in the lower, an unridden horse led by an attendant. Another person carries the royal umbrella. The royal horse is bedecked and symbolises the movement of the dead towards heaven. The inscription in the middle border reads:

ya-amāchaputasa piyadatasa

–the gift of Priyadatta, the son of an *amātya* (whose name is lost).

Note the expression of *amācha* for *amātya;* the Minister.

B.2. Memorial to the wife of a Rājāmātya (*Pl.* 16)

The inscribed Memorial depicts a seated royal figure over a throne flanked by two female attendants, a *chauri* bearer on the left side and the right one has a wire vessel holding on the upper left shoulder, and the right hand over chalice. This was first reported[2] in 1966-67, and subsequently by several authors. It is now in the Govt. Museum, Gulbarga. The inscription over the bordered frame above the sculptured scene in a single line reads:

"*Rājāmāchasa Gaganakasa*[3] *Bhariyāya Rājāmāchiya Rāmasirīya*" of *Rājāmātyi*[4] Rāmaśrī, the wife of *rājāmātya* Gaganaka. Here the wife of

king's minister, *rājāmātya* is titled as *Rājamātyi* as in the case of a *Mahāsenāpatni,* although neither of these hold any office in the royal court except that they are wives of important personages in the royal services.

B.3. Record of a Vaṇīyaka (*Pl.* 16)

The inscription[5] is found on a slab of the outer wall of the Hanuman Temple (SAN-4) which measures 51x30x19 cm. thick. Though incomplete, the single line record in 2nd century A.D. characters reads:

-.-.*Mahāsenāyasa Balivadāra vāsino āpakuṭisa Vaṇiyā ketani*

The Memorial (*Ketani*) for Āpakuṭi, a *Vaṇīya* and resident of *Balivadara* who was perhaps a devotee of Mahāsena. The full meaning could not be made out. The slanting flourishes marking the vowel signs on the letters *la, ta, na* is noteworthy. The identification of the place Balivadara is not clear.

B.4. A Slab set up by an Amātyaputa (*Pl.* 17-A)

This roughly dressed slab was found in the foundation of the Kāḷi Temple within the Chandralāṁbā Temple complex. This inscription is in two lines over plain slab.

The text reads:

Line 1: (a) *mācha putasa anekakatuyājisa*
Line 2: —.*dune dāsasa*

Droṇadāsa—son of an *amātya* and performer of several *kratus* and *yajñas*.

B.5. Set up for Deṭika and Purushadatta (*Pl.* 17-A)

This five line inscription[6] is found on a slab built in the wall of the Durgā Temple. It was originally found near the *stūpa* Site 1 (SAN-4). The first three lines are in bold characters, the last two in smaller letters inscribed subsequently, reflecting the improper spacing of the lines and inept carving of the records.

The text reads:

1. *Muḍāna mahāgāmiku*
2. *mārasa(de)ṭikasa*
3. *Bhcti Bālakāya*
4. *Ahimarikāya*
5. *Purisadatāya*

(The set up of the slab) for Deṭika, a *mahāgrāmi kumāra* (a *mukhiya* of the village), belonging to Muḍāna and Purushadatta son of Bhati belonging to Ahimarikā-.-.

An attempt, in line drawing along the border, is made to carve out a pillared *toraṇa*. The place name *Ahimarikā* [7] appears in D1, D3 inscriptions also.

B.6. Inscription referring to two amāchis (*Pl.* 17-A)

This fragmentary single line record, is on the left side vertical frame, of a sculptured relief figure of a female[8] (may be two), serving as a label of the scene. The Brāhmī characters of the record are well drawn and proportionate, the vertical ends posses finer loops. Yakshanika and Sanghanika were both wives of the ministers.

The text reads:

-.-.(a) māchi Yakhanikā[9] *— amāchi Sanghanikā*

There is no doubt that classical influence is seen in some Sannati sculptures which reveals some attendants with foreign type hairdo probably Roman.

Here the reading of *Yavanikā* itself, for *Yakshanikā* is incorrect. The lady here has worn indigenous ornaments, like wristlets (cluster of bangles) and ear lobes, typical of the female depictions of the latter Sātavāhana-Ikshvāku vintage. Even the *ka* ending suffixes in Yakhanikā, Sanghanikā, are characteristic of the times.

The term *amāchi i.e. ạmātyi,* wife of an *amātya* is uncommon but the practice seems to be very much in vogue. The important dignitaries in the service of the king such as *amātya, Mahāsenāpati, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahātalavara* their female counterparts though do not possess the real authority were addressed as *Amātyī, Mahādaṇḍnāyakī, Mahāsenāpatnī* and *Mahātalavarī* and the like.

Memorials raised for ladies of the royal household[10] are found at Andhau of the time of Rudradāman-I and similar memorials with inscribed and sculptured scenes accompanied by attendants are known from Nagarjunakonda.

B.7. Inscription of a Mahāraṭhiputasa (*Pl.* 17-A)

This is on a broken slab with relief sculpture on the top. The record is fragmentary and reads *"Mahāraṭhi putasa"*

B.8. Slab set up in the Bīrappa Temple (*Pl.* 17-B).

The sculpture above has three *chaitya*—arched frames. The records are three short labels indicative of the memorials raised for the deceased persons.

1. *chejakasa mugura koṇhasa*
2. *Bhojikiniya kāmāya*
3. *Lekha (ka) putasa Naṇhakoṭavasa*

B.9. This is on a slab[12] built into the steps of the bathing *ghāṭ*. The incomplete inscription in four lines reads:

1. *Bhoju jana Agiṭhoma*
2. *(Ravi) naka Asabhaḍa (Sa)*
3. *—ya aṭha (sa)na (me)*
4. *Pālitasa*

B.10. The record[13] is on a broken slab used in the Chandralāṁbā Temple. The short inscription reads :

(Ya) māchasa Sihadharasa—of Minister Simhadhara.

Notes and References

1. Discovered by the second author who is associated with the excavations at the site during the year 1988-89.
2. G.S. Gai, *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 39 no. 228, Also P.B. Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 8.
3. M. Seshadri reads *Gagabakasa* Pl. 22 p. 170.
4. M.S. Nagaraja Rao says "It evidently records the donation of the sculptured slab by Rājāmātya Rāmasiri, wife of Rājāmātya Gaganaka probably the minister of the king". Rao (1985) *Ibid.* p. 42 no. 3 Pl. 57.
5. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 38 no. 210.
6. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 39. no. 223.
7. Rao (1985), p. 42 no. 7.
8. First noticed by P.B. Desai, (1968) p. 8 who also mentions a reference to one officer incharge of official records-*akhapaṭalikā* a statistician.
9. Rao (1985), p. 43, Pl. 70. He takes the term as 'Yavana' meaning a foreigner, which is not correct.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI (1921-22), pp. 19-25 and *Epigraphia Indica* XXXVII, (1967) pp. 142-144; XXXIV, (1961-62), p. 22.
11. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 38, no. 205.
12. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 38 no. 206.
13. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 39. no. 222.

VII. (C) Sculptured and Inscribed Memorials

C-1. Memorial of a Śrī Khirya (*Pl.*18)

This is a fragment of a sculptured memorial from SAN-8 measuring 50x32x15 cm. A couple is depicted within a bordered panel with two attendants behind. The left side figure holds up a vase and a casket in his both hands,[1] on the right side is a *chaurī* bearer. The upper panel and lower part are broken. The inscription is engraved on the squarish border of the panel and reads:

(Nagipa) Siri Khirayą Kapaḍarasa—?

The memorial stone raised in memory of one (*Nāgappa*) belonging to *Śrī Khīrya* and of *Kapaḍara* household. The place name *Śrī Khirya* could not be identified.

C.2. Slab set up for Nāgabodhi[2] (*Pl.* 18)

A broken slab measuring 58x47x15 cm with a pillared mansion drawn in line was found in the wall make up of the Chandralāṁbā Temple (SAN-6). The top portion of the line-drawing is lost, so also the inscribed portion which is scribed in a descending manner in the central part of the pavilion.

The extant portion reads :-
.Nāga Bodhinikāya

Memorial of Nāgabodhī.

C.3. Slab set up for Padmaśrī[3] (*Pl.* 19)

This memorial stele measuring 90x63x11 cm. was a find near the robbed out *stūpa* site-1 (SAN-4). The central panel alone is preserved, the top and lower parts are broken. The depiction reveals

a prominent female figure over a high *mūḍa* type pedestal in *ardhaparyankāsana,* the dangling right foot on a foot rest. Four female attendants are seen on the left lower side somewhat bent and holding a circular box (toilet). While at the corresponding right, a female holds a mirror (*darpaṇa*).[4] The right side standing female holds a *chāmara,* the left one a vessel on the shoulder. The inscription on the raised bordered frame, overhead of the panel reads:

--gāmi Kumārīya Padama Sirikāya

Memorial of Padmaśrī, the daughter of (Nā)gami or (Ch)āgami.

C.4. Slab referring Siri Maka[5] (*Pl.* 19)

Fragment of sculptured slab portraying two panels partly preserved, measures 44x48x11 cm. and found on the surface of SAN-8, an ancient mound. The top panel depicted a *chaitya* window, and the lower, two human busts. The extant inscription on the bordered frame reads:
Siri Makasa which might stand for (king) *Śrī Makha.*

C.5. Memorial for Vaṇīyaka[6] (*Pl.* 19)

This sculptured fragment measures 43x24x11 cm. found in SAN-6 in the terrace wall of the Chandralāṁbā Temple. The short record reads-*Vaṇīyasa Khahasa* of a merchant named *Khaha.* The empty cart below indicates that this is a Memorial of a *Vaṇīya.*

C.6. Memorial for Dharamaha[7] (*Pl.* 20)

A broken memorial, the sculptured parts badly mutilated and visible in smaller parts measures 50x30x19 cm. and comes from Benagutti (SAN-3). The top panel shows two *chaītya* windows with a low railing at the frontage. The lower panel depicts three figures—carrying variously *Kumbhas,* circular casket with knobbed

lid. The label inscription in bold characters reads:
*"(Dha)ra mahasa"*of *Dharamaha* in early Ist century A.D. characters.

C.7. Memorial for Daṭila[8] (*Pl.* 20)

Fragment of a broken slab measuring 31x2x11 cm. was found in the terrace wall, below the Chandralāṁbā Temple (SAN-6). It has four Brāhmī characters drawn in double line reading:

1. *...daṭilāya*
2. *-.-.-.sa*

The tenor of writing is closer to the record described below (C.8).

C.8. Memorial for Siyapāla[9] (*Pl.* 20)

A limestone slab with a hemispherical top and measuring 94x33x12 cm. was found in the wall make up below the Chandralāṁbā Temple (SAN-6). The top of the slab has an incised *chaitya* decoration. The letters are deeply engraved in double-line and read:

Siyapālāya:

It is a donation caused by or for *Śrīyapāla*. The ornamental double-line incision of the letters is quite unusual.

C.9. Set up of a Selanikāya[10] (*Pl.* 20)

This is a label partly prepared on a small slab written boldly, the letters read:

Sela nikaya

a memorial (*nikāya*) set up on a *Śaiia* (hill) monastery. Earlier writers

on the subject read it as *Seloṇakāya* and took it as a set up in honour of Saloṇaka, a lady.[11]

C.10. Memorial for Upāsika Śyāmā (*Pl.* 21-A)

A cornice beam with a sculptured frieze[12] depicting elephant and winged animals, bordered by floral band on the upper register and bells at the lower. A one line inscription on the reverse face which is unworked reveals the donees name and purpose.

"*dhujitakasa kitabhutino bhāginīya samā upāsikāya*"

For a lady disciple Śyāmā sister of Mitabhūti from Dhujitaka. The identity of the place name Dhujitaka is not clear.

C.11. Memorial for Viśākha[13] (*Pl.* 21-A)

A memorial slab with a riderless horse in bold relief and a seated figure above. The inscription which is incomplete reads:

-.-.ṇha ghālā vāsakhara-.-.
might mean *(ka)ṇha* residing at Ghāla.

C.12. Set up of a pillar[14] (*Pl.* 21-A)

The inscription is on a fragmentary sculpture. The text reads:

(tu) labhūtasa putasaya chhatha kha-.-.

(Set up) of a *chhatra Khambhā* (pillar for *chhatra* or parosal) by the son of Tulabhūta.

C.13. Memorial for Somagha (*Pl.* 21)

This record[15] is on a slab near Segiyappa's house in the village.

It reads:

"Soma ghasa nikā(ya)"

Memorial for Somagha.

C.14. Memorial for *Vāṇī and Seraṇha*[16] (*Pl.* 21-B)

This record is on a slab kept in the Govt. Museum, Gulbarga. This is a sculptured stele, the scenes in two panels with a cluster of *Chaitya* windows on top and two persons peeping through the openings (*vātāyanas*) are obviously a female and male, perhaps the very couple, referred to in the inscription.

"Vāṇīyasa Senaṇhasa"

Other smaller inscriptions (Unillustrated)

C.15. This is on a slab[17] lying in the ruined *stūpa* site near the temple. The extant portion reads:

Akaṭhinibiyā karaya Bhoḍasa deyadhama sava...

Caused for the welfare of Bhoḍasa hailing from Akhaṭhinibiya (a place)

C.16 A memorial slab found[18] in front of one of the villagers house. The small inscription reads:

Nānasa Yārāya

Notes and References

1. Discovered by the second author Acc No. 395. The figure recalls to mind the Buddha carrying the *Karaṇḍas* before the group of the

Nāgas, cf A.H. Longhurst, (*MASI*, 54. Pl. XXIV-B).

2. Discovered by the second author Acc. No. 282.
3. Discovered by the second author Acc. No. 272.
4. This recalls to mind the Memorial raised for the *Śaka* Princess Vammabhaṭa, the queen mother by the ruling king Rudrapurushadatta in his 11th regnal year. This comes from a Buddhist monastery. Vammabhaṭa is shown seated on a stool and holds a mirror in one of her hands. She is dressed like a foreign lady and accompanied by female attendants. cf. *Epigraphia Indica XXXIV (1961-62) pp. 20-22. Also see Elizabeth S. Rosen, 'A Dated Memorial pillar from Nagarjunakonda' in Fredric Asher and* G.S. *Gai, Indian Epigraphy –Its Bearing on the History of Art,* (Varanasi, 1985), pp. 35-39.
5. Discovered by the second author Acc. no. 394.
6. Discovered by the second author Acc. no. 371.
7. Discovered by the second author Acc. no. 376.
8. Discovered by the second author Acc. no. 482.
9. Discovered by the second author Acc. no. 353.
10. *ARIE*, 1966-67 App. B. no. 230 slab no. 3.
11. Rao (1985) p. 44 Pl. 78 no. 23.
12. Rao (1985) p. 44 no. 26 Pls. 81, 82.
13. Rao (1985) p. 44 Pl. 77 no. 22.
14. Rao, *op.cit.*, p. 44 no. 21 Pl. 76. He read the inscription as "*..a bhātusa atisayāya chāya (padima)* ..and translates it as:

    "Fragmentary sculpture of a person, bears an inscription referring to the memorial (*chāya pratimā* of one *Atisaya,* brother of some one whose name is lost."

15. *ARIE*, 1966-67 (1972) pp. 37 no. 203. Rao (1985) p. 43 no. 18 Pl. 73 reads it as *Soma-ghosanikā.*
16. *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 39 no. 229 Rao (1985) p. 43 no. 14 Pl. 66.
17. *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 39 no. 224.
18. Discovered by the second author.

VII.(D). Inscriptions Referring to Noblemen, Householders etc.

A total of 11 inscriptions belong to this category. All of them are in Brāhmī characters datable to 1st-2nd century A.D. and refer to the *gṛihapatis, patnis, Śreshṭhis* or *Vaṇiyas* — the richer class of the society and various professionals.

D.1. Inscription referring to Girija gaṇaka (*Pl.* 22-A)

This is an *āyaka*[1] slab, found in a field mid-way between Chandralāṁbā and Durgā Temples. Three *chaitya* window arches with railing in front indicate heaven, the upper part has representation of two figures,[2] lower part two attendants (one male and another female). The inscription in two long lines engraved in right angle to the sculptured scenes. The text reads:

1. *Ahimarikāya Nāganikāya*
2. *Arikā-bhātumo Girijagaṇakasa*[3]

(pillar) caused by Nāganikā, resident of Ahimarikā and Girija the brother of Arika who was a *gaṇaka* or statistician.

D.2. Inscription of a House Lady Nanda (*Pl.* 22-A)

The inscription is found on a slab (no.1) deposited in the Govt. Museum, Gulbarga.[4] The incomplete record is in two lines:

1. *(Gha) riṇīya Sihaḍīya*
2. *(he or hi) ma Nandāya*[5]

Set up of a (*gṛihiṇī*) – house lady *Sihaḍi*[6] and her (...) Hema Nanda.

D.3. Inscriptions referring to a house-lady from Ahimarikā (*Pl.* 22A)

The small record is on a sculptured slab which reveals a female figure. The extant text reads:

(Ghari)ṇīya Ahimarikāya; of *gṛihini* from *Ahimarikā*[7]

But P.B. Desai[8] has taken the name Ahimarikā "that of a lady in all cases. So he says The nun (*Bhikuṇi*) Ahimarikā figures in all three records at different far-flung sites. If they refer to one and the same individual, it is reasonable to surmise that this pious lady made her holy offerings to more than one *stūpas* or religious establishments". It is, however, clearly a place name as referred to in the three inscriptions of Sannati, apart from the present one, B-5 and D-1 may also be taken note of.

D.4. Inscriptions of a Householder Sūla (*Pl.* 22-B)

This is a memorial slab with[9] an oval top and a *gavāksha* motif (dormer) carved in line. The record is horizontally written, the letters are somewhat squarish as in the *Kshatrapa* records. *Gahapatisa Sūlasasa* of a householder *(Gṛihapati) Śūla.*

D.5. Inscription of a gṛihiṇī Samāya (*Pl.* 22-B)

This is on a slab[10] (no. 5)

The name occurs in another record also.

Text: *ghariṇīya Samāya:*

D.6. Inscription caused by Govidāsi and Aryadāsi (*Pl.* 22-B)

The record is on a large pillar lying in the field of Channabasappa Gowda.[11] The writing and curled flourishes of the verticals and vowel marks, characterise the 2nd century A.D. *Brāhmī* script. The record is in two long lines, horizontally written on the shaft.

Line-1: *Siri...mi putasa hathilasa naṭikāya Buddhaseni yānam munāḍiya naṭikāya pākārayati Yāya Govindāsīya*

Line-2: *naṭi kāya naḍiya Guḍaputīya-(a)-Ayadāsīyaṁ nāḍiya vālukiyāya Mukhudikoyaṁ...*

The inscription mentions[12] a *naṭikā* (dancer) named Govidāsi who belonged to the group of Buddhaśreṇī caused the construction of the enclosure (*Prākāra*). Another dancer Āryadāsi, daughter of Naḍiya Guḍa and Naṭi Vāluki caused – (not clear) but a *mukhuḍikā* perhaps a lofty entrance or hall.

D.7. Inscription of a gṛihiṇī Yakha (*Pl.* 22-B)

This is a on a floor slab at the entrance of Md. Ali's house in the village. The text reads:

"Yakhaghariṇīya"

D.8. Sculptured Panel with inscribed labels,[14] (*Pl. 23-A,B.*)

(a) It contains a realistic portrait of a landlord seated in his storeyed mansion. The lower panel has bullocks and a driver at ease. These bullock carts for transport of rich farmers are still in use in Andhra-Karnataka.

The inscription in 2nd century A.D. characters, reads '*Pemanusa*' meaning 'lovable person'.

(b) Another panel is with empty bullock cart, and the bullocks are resting. The label reads "*Go muḍasa-ja*" meaning not clear.

(c) This sculptured slab, now in the village of Jewargi, located upstream from Sannati on the river Bhima, perhaps originally, belonged to Sannati itself. It depicts two interesting

panels, the top one, within a square bordered frame shows, a couple seated on a *mañchaka* and flanked by a female attendant on the rear. The inscription on the border in linear Brāhmī characters of 2nd-3rd century A.D. with fine line-head marks reads:

"Vaṇikasa Vīrasa Vāṇi inīyana Aniya".

(*Pl.*24–A)

It illustrates the scene of Vīra (a male) and the other Aṇi (a female) who belonged to the merchant community (Vaṇiyas). In the lower panel a Yoked Cart with bullocks resting, suggests a death scene.

D.9. Sculptured scene[15] with a noble man or land-lord, the label in Brāhmī characters reads *Mājana, i.e.* Big man.

D.10. A fragmentary[16] slab with a label *ghariṇī* in 2nd century A.D. characters.

D.11. A slab[17] found in the debris of the wall of Chandralāṁbā Temple has an inscribed label "*...riṇīya mitāya*" of Mitra, the *ghariṇī,* house lady.

Notes and References

1. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 39, no. 225. M. Seshadri *Artibus Asiae*, XXXIV, (1972) pp. 169-70 Pl. 8A & 19 regards the name *Ahimarikā* as a place, while P.B. Desai, who explored in Feb. 1968 published an article with an estampage of the record as well. *Ibid*, pp. 5-9, Pl. 9.
2. Rao (1985), identifies the couple as *Giridatanaka* and *Nāganika*, p. 42, Pl. 62.
3. M. Seshadri takes it as *Girija Tanaka* as the proper name *Artibus Asiae*, (1972), p. 170.
4. Gai in *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 32 App. B. no. 95. The record is read as (1) *(Gha)riṇiya Sihaḷīya*, (2) *manadeya.*

5. Only the left part of the letter *ha* is preserved—hence the assumption.
6. Rao has read:
   1. *(Gha)riṇīya Sihaḷīya*
   2. *..hamane deya*
   Accordingly, this reference is taken for a *gṛihiṇi* from *Simhaḷa* country. (Srī Lanka), Rao (1985), p. 43, Pl. 71.
7. Rao (1985), *op.cit.*, no. 9, p. 42. Pl. 63.
8. P.B. Desai, *op.cit* p. 8 M. Seshadri, however, regards it as a place name *AA*, Pl. 8A 19.
9. *ARIE*, 1986-87, p. 39, no. 231.
10. *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 31 no. 91.
    Rao, (1985), pp. 42-43 nos. 10 & 11, Pl. 64.
11. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 38 no. 213.
12. Seshadri (1972) p. 170 Pl. 20. Rao (1985), p. 42 Pl. 58 no. 4.
13. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 37 nos. 204;
    Seshadri (1972), p. 170 Pl. 24.
14. (a) Illustrated by P.B. Desai, (1968), p. 7, Pl. 8. (b) and (c) Dr. K.P. Poonacha, of the Bangalore circle located these two and made available the photographs for which the authors are grateful. The cart recalls the metal one found in BrahmaPuri (Kolhapur) excavations. (*Lalitkala*,. no. 7. Fg. 32).The *chhāyā stambha* of Kalaka from Hippargi (Rao, 1985, p. 44. Pl. 79) and the one from Belvadgi reported by K.V. Ramesh resemble our example: *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, (1967) pp. 131-32.
15. P.B. Desai, (1968), p. 7.
16. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 39, no. 233.
    Rao (1985), p. 42, no. 12.
17. *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 32 no. 92.

VII (E): Other Votive and Fragmentary Inscriptions

In this category, in all 33-inscriptions, are included. They are mostly fragmentary in nature. Out of these E-5, E-8, E-9, E-10 and E-11 were discovered by the second author during the explorations at the Sannati mounds.

E.1. Donation of a Deva Chhadka (*Pl.* 25)

It is engraved on flat[1] slab with a half-lotus medallion and beaded line border on top. The record is in two lines written on the top portion in a linear way.

1. *sidham serāmasa putānaṁ*
2. *mukena kārito deva chhadakē*

Noteworthy is the influence of Sanskrit in the words. *Kārito* and *dēva chhadako* etc.

Siddhaṁ 1 This *Dva chhajja* (awning) was caused by one named Huka son of Sērama.

E.2: Donation caused by Samkapa[2] (*Pl.* 25)

The record is on a broken sculptured slab and reads:

ka Samkapasa

E.3. Set up of Akhapatalikā[3] (*Pl.* 25)

This is in the Govt. Museum, Gulbarga. It is broken and reads:

—*akha paṭalikā,* in bold characters , the meaning is not clear.

E.4. Donation of Muḍāni (*Pl.* 25)

The record is on a fragmentary sculptured slab with a lower part of a seated couple visible—the extant letters read: *Muḍānisa,* of *Muḍāni*[4]

E.5. Set up of a Mahānāsika (*Pl.* 25)

This is a part of a Memorial slab found from SAN-8 closer to the find spot of A-1. It is fragmentary and reads *Mahānāsikeva:–*

E.6. Record of Nāgadeva[5] (*Pl.* 25)

This is now in Govt. Museum, Gulbarga. Fragmentary in bold characters reads "*ṭhakadasa Nāgadeva*". Donation of a Nāgadeva—a servant of—whose name ends—*ṭhaka.*

E.7. Donation of Amanikā (*Pl.* 26)

This is on a rectangular slab measuring 45x36x10 cm. with pillar motif (Acc. no. 278). It was found in the terrace surrounding the Chandralāṁbā Temple (SAN-6). The inscription is engraved vertically in one line and reads "Amanikāya".

E.8. Record referring to Ruḍupāla (*Pl.* 26)

Fragment of a sculpture with a portion of a label inscription preserved in the inter space between two panels. It reads *Ruḍupā (la).*

E.9. Set up by Araka[6] (*Pl.* 26)

Fragment of a memorial stone, the middle panel has a short

label inscription reading "*Arakachhatake*". The *chhataka* probably the awning (*chadya*) was erected in memory of *Araka* or *Arka*.

E.10. Donation of Śyāma (*Pl.* 26)

A two-line inscription was noted on a fragment of a limestone slab (Acc. no. 285), measuring 33x27x13 cm. It was found in the terrace walls below the Chandralāṁbā Temple (SAN-6). The sides of the slab are incised with the design of pillars, on a stepped pedestal. The inscription reads:

1. *Sama Lokikāya*
2. *Bamhiya—*

Donation caused by one *Śyāma Lokika* from Bhambi (a place).

E.11. Slab by Māya (*Pl.* 26)

Two characters of a label inscription on a roughly worked out limestone slab measuring 28x36x12 cm. found within the temple (SAN-6, Acc. no. 280) reads '*Māya*'.

E.12. Inscription of a Śramaṇa (*Pl.* 23-A)

This fragment of limestone was found from SAN-8.

This inscription reads:
1. *—rakasa bhata pala*
2. *...Samaṇakasa...*

refers to a memorial of a *Śramaṇa* who seems to be also in the service of the monastery.

Not Illustrated

The following inscriptions, in view of their very fragmentary nature are not illustrated. They are, however, noticed here primarily to record them for future reference and might be useful in the study and restoration of any other fragmentary record which may be encountered from the site in future.

E.13. It is on a slab built[7] into Mallayanaguḍi reads: '*rakhitasa*'— of a *Rakshita,* perhaps a proper name.

E.14. It is on slab[8] set up against the wall of the Devamma Temple. Fragmentary, reads:—*Sadā Siriya.*

E.15. It is on a slab[9] lying in front of the Hanumān Temple reads: *Mahiselakasa: a śaila* (hill) called *Mahī.*

E.16. It is on a damaged[10] slab lying in Liṅga Senappa's House reads:
(Sa) amba Samadāsasa— of Sāmba and Śyāmadāsa etc.

E.17. On another slab in Liṅga Senappa's house reads: *dāsi.*

E.18. This is on a slab kept in local teacher Dhoolappa's house. Fragmentary reads: "*Sivatana kasa Gaṇa Kasa*". Śivathaṇaka, the statistician.

E.19. This is on a slab paved into the lane in front of Rājannas House. The few letters read...*naka(sa).*

E.20. This is on a slab lying in front of Basavanna Temple reads:— "*Asavā (ri) Kiniya dhana*".

E.21. Slab built into the floor of Chandralāṁbā Temple, fragmentary, only two letters *kasa (na)* extant.

E.22. Another slab within the Chandralāṁbā Temple—the extant two letters read: *kaya*.

E.23. It is on a slab lying at the bathing *ghat* in front of the Chandralāṁbā Temple reads: '*Phasana*'.

E.25. Another slab in the same place has an inscription referring to a person whose name ending *nasa*—who was an *Agnihotri*. The extant letters read:

- . - . *asa Agnihotikasa*—.

E.26. This is on a slab no. 2 kept in Chandralāṁbā[11] temple. Fragmentary reads: *Komarīya*— of Komārī or a place called Komārī.

E.27. This is on a slab no. 3 in the same place reads: *bachhini kāya*.

E.28. It is a slab (no. 4) only two letters—*ge (laḍa)*.

E.24. Another slab in the same place, the extant inscription reads: *Somanami*—

E.29. Though fragmentary it is an important inscription found in the Chandralāṁbā Temple. The two line inscription reads:

1. ...*Valiyatayānaṁ amtevāsinīya*.
2. ...*tikāya piyako deya*

a pious gift by one named Priyankā resident of (*amtevāsini*) (name lost) located in *Valiyatāya*.

E.30. This is on a slab lying on the right side of the path leading to the bathing *ghat* of the same tank...*marika khadako*.

E.31. A broken sculptured panel[12] in two scenes. The upper register

shows a seated female, head part broken. The short inscription reads: *Araka,* possibly a portion of the proper name.

E.32. (*Pl.* 27) Fragmentary record—"*Amāchasa Lamasa*".

E.33. (*Pl.* 27) A sculptured Panel wherein a lady is known seated on a throne, the fragmentary inscription reads:*Paṭha Iṇikāya* . . .relating to the deceased flanked by two attendants who carry the vessels. The lower register has the bullock cart and driver.

Notes and References

1. Rao (1985), p. 42 no. 5, Pl. 59.
2. Rao (1985), pp. 43-44 Pl. 74 no. 19.
3. *ARIE*, 1968-69, p. 32 no. 96.
4. Rao (1985) p. 44 Pl. 75.
5. *ARIE*, 1966-67, p. 39 no. 232. M. Seshadri read it as *Sanāgadevasa, AA* (1972), Pl. 21, p. 170.
6. The name of *Araka* figured in two label inscriptions published by Rao(1985), Pls. 62 and 72 pp. 42-43.
7. *ARIE*, 1966-67. p. 28. no. 207.
8. *ARIE*, 1966-67 p. 38, no. 208.
9. *ARIE*, 1966-67 p. 38 no. 209. Also Seshadri *AA*, p. 170 Pl. 23.
10. From E-16 to E-25 are first noticed in *ARIE*, 1966-67 Sl. nos. 211, 212, 214 to 221 respectively. See pp. 38-39.
11. E-26 to E-30 are reported by G.S. Gai in *ARIE*, 1968-69 nos. 88 to 94 respectively at pp. 31-32.
12. Rao (1985) p. 43 Pl. 72.

VIII. Buddhism in Karṇāṭaka

It may be stated at the outset that Sannati's epigraphical wealth pooled above is entirely from surface. Except B-1 from SAN-1; D-1 to D-6 from SAN-4, others cannot be specifically associated with any structure even. There is no doubt that the art style, of large majority of sculptures and the inscriptions, both in their Palaeography and language, bear unmistakable closeness with the later Sātavāhana-Ikshvāku Buddhist sculptures from coastal Andhra sites.

(1) Early Phase

About the early phase, we have as many as four Aśokan Edicts from Sannati itself (Part-I) but their associated structural set up remains a conjecture. The Aśokan records here are a species of autobiography of this great emperor. What was the nature of Buddhism of the Mauryan and Post-Mauryan Karnataka? Much more remains to be done.

There are no traces so far of any impressive *stūpa*, its sculptural or architectural embellishments in stone, brick and stucco as at the centres like Amaravati-Bhattiprolu and Jaggayyapeta. However, some early Buddhist works give us a fairly reliable account.

The great ascetic Bāvarī despatching the disciples according to the *Dhammapadāṭṭakatha*[1] from Mūlaka to Rājagṛiha to meet Buddha[2] echo the great importance and sacredity attached to the central Deccan as an early seat of Buddhism. The spread of *Theravāda* doctrine into the Andhra region, and thenceforth to Karnataka, might not be a mere surmise although H. Sarkar[3] sees no such impact to begin with. *Mahāsānghikas* made a dent into Andhra-Karnataka under the Mauryan patronage. Missionaries have been sent to several places and there appears to be some sequential order in their despatch. The places are Kāshmīra-Gāndhāra; Mahishamaṇḍala-

Vanavāsi, Aparānta-Mahāraṭha, Yona, Himavanta; Suvaṇṇabhūmi and Tāṁbapaṇṇi. According to Mahāvaṁśa, (4th century A.D.) Moggaliputta sent five *Theras* to *Tāṁbapaṇṇī;* one Mahādeva *Thera* to *Mahishamaṇḍala;* one *Rakhita* to Vanavāsi; one *Rakhita* to Aparānta and *Mahā-Rakhita* to another country. This took place after the Pāṭaliputra council (third Buddhist meet). Again we hear that several Buddhist *āchāryas* (some ◊80,000 ascetics under the leadership of Chandagutta from Banavāsi) visited Śrīlanka to attend the inaugural ceremony of the great *stūpa* raised by Dutthagāmini, the king of Śrī Lanka (101-77 B.C.). Hiuen Tsang (640 A.D.), the Chinese pilgrim refers to the Aśokan built *stūpa* at Banavasi (*Kun-ki-na-pu-lo*).

It is not surprising that apart from the known ones at Brahmagiri (Iśila) and Maski, as many as four minor rock edicts found in recent[4] years in a concentrated area of North Karnataka (Udegolam, Nittur) closer to the Kurnool area, have raised several interesting questions. Brahmagiri, and Siddapur (Chitradurga District) Rock Inscriptions, and also Sahasaram (U.P.), contain a reference to the presence of Aśoka himself at Suvarṇagirī from where he advised through his *mahāmātras* at *Iśila* to follow up the proclamation made during his tour on 257th day. The *mahāmātras* posted at *Iśila* and Suvarṇagirī perhaps caused these epigraphs. K.V. Ramesh thinks of a head-quarters of a Southern Division of Mauryan Empire and "an important halting point on a much frequented trade route".[5] In fact Brahmagiri and Siddapur Rock Edicts refer to the presence of Aśoka at this important place.[6]

A. Ghosh, expressed[7] the view that sites close to the Aśokan Edicts, such as Maski and Brahmagiri, do not show remains of prosperous towns. But Sannati has undoubtedly an extensive fortified township which could perhaps be one among the 30 fortified towns of South India mentioned by Megasthenese. It is true that in coastal Andhra sites like Amaravati-Dharanikota, Bhattiprolu and Vaddamanu have clearly revealed that Buddhism along with NBP and Silver PMC reached this part of the country during the early Mauryan period itself. Aśoka Maurya infact endowed to the already

existing *Mahāchaītya,*[8] a pillar edict, and railing of granite uprights. At Bhattiprolu the granite relic containers bear typically Mauryan polish. The NBP ware and SPMC have also been unearthed from the earliest levels of the port towns like Korkai of the Pāṇḍyas and recently Alangankulam (1989) near Ramanathapuram on the coast of Tamilnadu. It is of great significance to note that NBP and SPMC were reported, for the first time, from the earliest levels of the Buddhist sites like Gedige[9] and Anurādhapura citadel in Śrī Lanka attesting the account of *Mahāvaṁśa* (XIV; 6 and XIX, 11-12) that Mauryan emperor despatched the *Bodhi Vṛiksha* sappling to *Simhala* in a highly religious manner.[10] The West Coast has a different story and till date no NBP or SPMC and Buddhist establishments of such magnitude and early date as in coastal Andhra have been registered on the long Karnataka or Kerala coast. The spread of early Buddhism to North Karnataka appears to be through the inland Rāyalasīmā area. Near Bellary and falling in line with Erṛaguḍi (*Suvarṇagirī*), and the damaged *Rājula-manda girī* (literally a hilly town where congregation of kings took place) edicts, are the minor rock edicts found recently at Udegolam and Nittur. They indicate the crucial importance of the area during the Aśokan times, though not early Mauryan.[11] With the discovery of the versions of major Edicts and Special Edicts (*Supra* Part I) at Sannati, it is amply clear that like Dhānyakaṭaka (Amaravati) in coastal Andhra, the areas of North Karnataka, at some stage, appear to be forming part of the Aśokan empire (*antaḥ* or *iharāja vishaya*). In the year 1959 itself Sir Mortimer Wheeler[12] modified his views by saying that "the three copies of Aśoka's minor rock edicts at Brahmagiri were appropriately addressed to the southern-most colonists of his father's empire, and not, as I had previously conjectured, to their bucolic precursors". In the light of the new evidences, we cannot subscribe to the view of (Late) A. Ghosh[13] that in 3rd century B.C., there were important people in the south, not included in Aśoka's empire. Whether they had shed their tribal character and had established full-fledged kingdoms is not certain. It is, however, noteworthy that while Aśoka recounts his contemporary Greek rulers in the west by their names,

he only mentions the people who were his southern neighbours. In his Rock Edict-II, we find among the independent border kingdoms, the Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas in plural, *Satiyaputa* (probably Atiyaman of the Kongu region), and *Keralaputa* in singular with whom the Mauryan king maintained good raport. This mode of mentioning the *Satiyaputa* and *Keralaputa* is conspicuously absent in Rock Edict III, which suggests that these two contiguous territories came under Aśokan spell between the issues of Rock Edict II and III.[14] This was perhaps a sequel to the conflicts between Nandas and Mauryas in their expansion towards South *i.e.*, lower Deccan and Draviḍadeśa during the preceding century, and Northern Karnataka had a definite role to play as Sannati's Special Edicts reveal. *To finally prove or disprove the Mauryan impact on Karṇāṭaka there is on the present showing, no other extensive qualified site other than Sannati whose systematic exposition of the archaeological wealth is a must and most urgent in view of the threat of submergence that loomed large on this remarkable historical site.*

(2) Buddhism of the Post-Christian eras

Sannati seems to enjoy a pre-eminent position as an extensive historical city during the later Sātavāhana but pre-Kadamba period of Karnataka's history and culture. Equally important is Vadagaon - Madhavapur (a suburb of Belgaum city) which yielded an hexagonal pillar inscription referring to a *Bikhu Sangha* dated to the end of first century[16] B.C. A. Sundara who excavated the site[17] has brought to the fore a Buddhist *Vihāra,* an apsidal temple and a few SPMC (4 nos.) of the late Mauryan type from the lowest strata of the site. Recent explorations in District Shimoga revealed early historical sites[18] at Kodihalli and Malur. Further explorations on Bhīmā river irrigation area have also resulted in the discovery of several early historical habitations, more prominently Roja[9] in Shahpur taluk; Belvadgi, Jewargi and Hippargi[20] on the banks of Bhīmā where from sculptured-inscribed memorials like the ones of Sannati and dated to 2nd century A.D. were found.

Dr. K.P. Poonacha and his colleagues of Bangalore Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India have intensified explorations in

the submergence area of Bhīmā river during this year and brought to light the following important sites with early historical relics.

1. Hasargundgi, Jewargi taluk, Lat. 16°48'42", Long. 76°54'43". A *Stūpa* (?) site, limestone sculpture of Yaksha, an uninscribed *Chchāyā pratimā* sculptured with empty cart and couple seated in *lalitāsana* accompanied by *Chauris* and other architectural fragments datable to 2nd-3rd century A.D. were found.
2. Anbi; Jewargi taluk, Lat, 16°51'13", Long. 76°54'01". An inscribed *Chchāyā Pratimā* with sculptured panel above as on Hasargundgi example, was datable to 2nd Century A.D.
3. Kanganballi, Chitapur taluk Lat. 16°50'24" Long. 76°56'16". A *stūpa* mound, lime stone sculpture, inscribed fragments of 2nd-3rd century date were found.
4. Kollur, Chitapur taluk, Lat. 16°52'51" Long. 76°57'06". habitation mounds of early historical period, with brick ruins.

The spread of art along with Buddhism during the early centuries A.D. towards North Karnataka has, therefore, a different tale. The routes, however, appear to be extending from coastal Andhra, Deccan and Rāyalasīmā, coinciding with the period of later Sātavāhanas, to be precise, from the times of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This spread had an inland cross-country route, Prakasam, Kurnool, Cuddapah-Bellary along with the upper reaches of Krishna-Tungabhadra and Bhīmā rivers.

In recent years an important Buddhist site was excavated at Adapur[21] in Cuddapah District. The finds from this site as well as Pushpagiri[22] and Peddachapalli are noteworthy. The inscriptional evidences at Siddhulagavulu rock-shelters near Ketavaram (Distt. Kurnool), Satanikota and Virapuram where large habitation sites of an early historic period were discovered, are important in this context. The existence of an orthodox wave of Buddhism in the Rāyalasīmā is certain but its nature and historical associations have not been properly studied with clearer archaeological perspective as in the coastal Andhra.

Several early historical sites with inscribed pottery and brick structures were located by P. Sitarama Murthy[23] in Addanki taluk (Distt. Prakasam). Among them notable is an extensive Buddhist site at Kukutlapalli, Chandavaram, in District Prakasam (A.P.) of the magnitude of Sāñchī.

Hampi Evidences

Hampi (District Bellary) seems to possess a Buddhist Centre aligned to the *Śaila* and *Chaityaka* schools which dominated during 2nd-4th century A.D. at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda introducing the worship of Buddha images and depictions of Buddha's life and *Jātakas*. A second century A.D., inscription records a donation perhaps to the Buddhist *Sangha*.[24] In the reserve collections of the Site Museum at Hampi, besides limestone members discovered from *Mahānavamidibbā* and Mint area, a stucco head of Buddha is also known. A. Sundara further recorded from Kamalāpur (1978) stucco images and compared them with *Gāndhāra* images. He rightly feels that Hampi may have been a Buddhist Centre in first century A.D. The impact of later Sātavāhana Art (Amaravati-Nagarjunakonda idiom) is so great that perhaps initially even the finished limestone sculptures were brought from Andhra sites. The trial excavations at an area west of king's audience hall at Hampi (*Pl.* 28) yielded five large limestone panels[25] (cornice beams), depicting in bas-relief, anecdotes from the life of Buddha (*Pl.* 29), as well *Jātakas*. These panels are undoubtedly of Palnad limestone and bear striking similarity in their crowded compositions, physical charm of the human forms and narrative style. Even the inscriptions are closer to the later Sātavāhana-Ikshvāku style, both in script and dialect.

The *Mahāsānghikas* of Amaravati-Śrīparvata went far and wide taking with them the sculptures as well as cult-objects like Buddha *Pādas (Pāda Sanghaṭi*) and carved beams of Palnad limestone into the interiors of Karnataka, such as Hampi and Sannati (A-1). Banavāsi,

has played a key role. A. Sundara[26] located two Buddhist spots at this place—Ummiguḍḍa and Kaḍagoḍu and an image of Maitreya in typical Amaravati style was found. Apart from the memorial slab inscription raised for the queen of Śiva Śrīpuḷumāvi,[27] we have a Nāga stone (five-headed) inscription of the time of Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi within the Madhukeśvara Temple, referring to the set up of a *taṭāka* and a *vihāra,*[28] by the king's daughter named Sivaskanda Nāgasiri. We also learn that a merchant (*Śreshṭhī*) named Bhūtapāla, rising a *Śilāgṛiha* at Karle (western Maharashtra) which was considered the best in *Jambūdvīpa.*[29] Vijayapuri's Koḍabālasiri, daughter of Siri Vīrapurushadatta, the second king of the Ikshvāku dynasty, was the queen of a *Vanavāsaka Mahārāja*[30] who caused a *chaitya* and *vihāra* at Śrīparvata (Nagarjunakonda).

At Togarasi,[31] (Shikarpur of District Shimoga), a stucco head of Buddha, an octagonal pillar shaft with standing Buddha indicated clearly the Mahāyāna influence during 2nd-3rd century A.D. The capital part has relief figures of Buddha flanked by attendants and a royal personage in typical Amaravati style.

Sannati's sculptured members too have revealed closeness though the limestone is of harder and dull variety, perhaps from the nearby Tandur (District Ranga Reddy. A.P.) limestone beads, not the soft greenish or grey or creamy Limestone of Palnad variety (District Guntur). We get from Kaveripattinam and Kāñchī excavations cult objects of Palnad lime stone, apart from brick *vihāra* and *chaitya gṛihas,* etc. datable to 3rd-4th century A.D.

The Buddhists frequented from Andhra to Vanavāsi and direct inscriptional evidences make us how the *Theravādin āchāryas* of Śrī Lanka[32] visited Śrīparvata and Vanavāsa and went to several other countries. These very countries are mentioned in *Mahāvaṁśa* too and the *Bodhi-Vriksha-Prāsāda,* on the *Chūladharmagiri Vihāra* (Site-43) at Śrīparvata became an important international centre of pilgrimage. Karnataka's Banavāsi, so also Sannati and perhaps many more such

centres came into their hold. It is important to note here that Buddhism of Karnataka of early centuries A.D. was essentially the result of *(Hīnayāna) Theravādins* impact from Śrī Lanka and Śrīparvata. But soon it appears other *Mahā Sānghika* sects like *Chaityakas, Śailas* and *Lokottaravādins* too influenced Karnataka. Among the inscribed-sculptured members nothing of the type like the drum slabs and dome slabs depicting the human form of Buddha, *pūrṇakumbhas, Mālāvāhaka* friezes, railing uprights and *sūchipaṭas* and the like were found till date anywhere in the above Karnataka sites. Except a single Buddhapāda (*Pl.* 31), the empty throne with *Pāḍa* under the Bodhi tree, and Nāgamuchalinda (seven-headed with *chhatra, Pl.* 30) not even a single Buddha image[33] or reliefs containing biographical details of the Master or *Jātaka* narratives are met with at Sannati. It is, therefore, clear that the first wave of Buddhism of the early centuries A.D. which touched Karnataka was entirely due to the orthodox *Theravādin* impact. The large majority, of the sculptured memorials of Sannati recall the Śaka–Kshatrapa examples of Gujarat. What could then be the content of the mounds noted at SAN-2, 5 and 9 (Fig. 2)? Could they be taken as truly associated with Buddhist *stūpas* or a different class of Memorial tumulus set up by the *Nāgarikas* of Sannati? The political situation right from Aśokan to the later Sātavāhana times seem to be full of uncertainty and fraught with wars which resulted in the death of several important persons including members of royal household.

(3) Later Buddhism in Karnataka

Shrinivas Ritti is of the view that "Buddhism spread to Karnataka also and continued to flourish here, perhaps for a longer period than in other parts of the country".[34] This is simply an over estimation. Buddha images (*Pl.* 24-B), of 5th-6th century A.D. were found at Haigunda,[35] District North Kanara. The site shows up some early sculptures too, like the standing two-handed Yaksha. The Kekayas[36] were patrons of Buddhism and their copper plates reveal grants to Buddhist *vihāras* and *ārya sangha* in 5th century A.D.

Bobruwada,[37] (North Kanara), near Ankola has a statue of Buddha. Buddhist images were unearthed in Malaji and Bidarhalli in Sirsi taluk, Bedagaon in Mundagod taluk District North Kanara.

The double-storeyed Buddhist *vihāra* at Aihole on the northern slope of the Megutti Temple hillock has been vividly dealt by S. Settar[38] and assigned to Chāḷukya Mangaleśa's period (596-608). Apart from the seated figure of Buddha in *vyākhyānamudrā*, on the central ceiling the inscription on the pillar of the ground floor refers to one Mahendra of the *Pinṭhavāda (Piṇḍapāti)* school who was a disciple of *Sthāvira Ānanda*. The record[39] furnishes some other names too. We may recall here that Chaitanyapurī (Hyderabad) cave inscription records certain gifts to the *vihāras* of *Piṇḍapātika* sect.[40] This inscription was of the times of Vishṇukuṇḍin King Govindarāja Govindavarman, the founder of the dynasty (5th century A.D.), who was a *Parama Saugata*. A monastic establishment, for the visiting monks, was caused on the hillock by *Bhadanta* Sanghadeva, of this Govindarāja *Vihāra*. He is described as a disciple of *Brahmadēva Vihāra* on Pushpagirī hill (Dist. Cuddappah). He is stated to be a *mahā piṇḍa pātika vāmadhara*. This record as well as the crudely finished rock-cut cave clearly point out that orthodox Buddhist sects survived till 5th-6th century A.D. in some regions, in spite of the formidable sway of the *Mahāyānists*.

The presence of Buddhism during Mangaḷeśa's reign (596-608 A.D.) is attested to at Bādāmī as well. Some unfinished Avalokiteśvara and defaced Buddhist sculptures were carved on the inner face of the huge cavity between cave nos. 3 and 4. In cave no. 5, a major niche figure of Buddha[41] with attendants and scenes of Nalagiri and Sundarananda episode etc. were found. Besides figures of Bodhisattva Maitreya, Padmapāṇi and a Buddha image in *padmāsana* were also noteworthy. Buddhism did not make much headway at Bādāmī. The above examples are rare in an overwhelmingly rich, Brāhmaṇical art creations of Bādāmī and merely indicative of the survival of a few local votaries. Hieun Tsang is stated to have visited Bādāmī and noted the existence of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhists at the place.

Hiregutti (North Kanara) copper plates of Bhoja King[42] Āsankita (6th century A.D.) record a village donation to Buddhist *vihāra*. They reveal a beautiful invocation to Buddha wherein the Master is described as "*aparimita-guṇa gaṇanidhī* and *nishkāraṇa vatsalo Buddhaḥ*". As an exception among the Karṇāṭaka-Gaṅga rulers, we find a lone reference to the gift of land to a Buddhist *vihāra* and *Sangha* at Melkote[43] (Mandya) by King Mādhava Varma-III (500-530 A.D). A *Śākyaśilā* existed at the boundaries of the land so granted. Buddhism during this early phase commanded some influence in the Gaṅga Kingdom[44] but did not make headway due to the impact of Jainism which engulfed Karnataka like a wild fire in the subsequent phase. No other Gaṅga ruler has evinced interest on Buddhism. Buddhism failed to secure a place in Karnataka after the middle of sixth century A.D. Hieun Tsang noticed a state of decline in most of the places. In the country of *Chu-li-ya* "The Buddhist monasteries in ruins, and only some of them had Brethren; there were several tens of Deva temples, and the Digaṁbaras were numerous. To the east of the capital, and near it, was an Aśokan tope where the Buddha had preached...Near the west side of the city was an old monastery where *Dev P'usa* had discussed with *arhat* Uthara". (T. Walter's. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, London, 1905, pp. 224-225).

An instance of chastising the *Ekāntamata* followers is met with in a record of Būtuga II (935-960). The text reads:[45]

"*Āryyai Ekāntamata madovata kuvādi kumbhīndra kumbha sambhedaṁ naigamanayādi kuḷi śaīrakare Jayadutturaṅga nṛipaḥ*".

This Jayadutturanga Būtuga-II (935-960 A.D.) cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants and horses in the form of false disputants of the *Ekāntamata* with the thunderbolts in the form of arguments from the scriptures.[46]

(4). The Vajrayāna Phase

Tāntrik Vajrayāna found place in the western part of Karnataka

and Kadri, now a suburb of Mangalore town in South Kanara District, seem to be its centre of attraction.[47]

The lateritic caves at this place, popularly called *Pāṇḍava* caves, appear to be the earliest vestiges here meant for these ascetics. The emergence of *Nātha-Pantha* paved the way for the spread of the Vajrayāna system out of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, which seemed to have originated in Tibeto-Nepalese areas and reached Bengal by about 9th-10th century A.D. The Mañjunātha cult of Karṇāṭaka is apparently connected to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughosha.[48] The early *gurus* of Nāthism were teachers of *Vajrayāna*. The temples dedicated to Mañjunātha were found not only in Tuḷunāḍu (Kadri, Dharmasthala etc.) but also at Kurugodu, Manjarabad and Belkanahalli in Bellary District[49] as well. The sculptured piece of stone from Kadri hill now kept in Government Museum, Mangalore, identified as the Bodhisattva Mañjughosha dated to 9th century A.D., is the earliest known relic of the place.[50]

(A) Mañjunātha Temple, Kadri, Buddhist Images

A *dīpastaṁbha*[51] exists on the left side in front of the *Maṇḍapa* of the temple which depicts in relief figures of *dhyāni Buddhas* on the four facets of the square *kaṭṭu* of the capital base. These are the three fine bronze images[52] kept within the temple which are of great interest to the present study. All the three belong to the same art style, and exhibit a distinct local idiom, more closer to the Gaṅga Jaina bronzes, rather than Choḷa as held by S. Nagaraju[53] and others. In fact these unique bronzes are certainly of earlier date than the Choḷa conquest of this region by Rāja Rāja.

(1) Bronze Lokēśvara (*Pl.* 32)

This is an inscribed seated image kept in the Mañjunātha Temple and dated to 13th January 968 A.D. It was installed by an Ālūpa King Kundavarma in the *vihāra* at *Kaḍarikā*. The inscription states:[54]

"Lokeśvarasya devasya pratishṭhān = akarot = prabhuḥ
Śrīmat = Kaḍarikā-nāṁni vihāre su-manohare"

It is interesting to note that there appears to be considerable migrant population from Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) to South Kanara during this period and even earlier as the imprecatory verses of Belmannu plates of Ālūpa Āluvarasa-II (730-65 A.D.) suggest[55].

It is an imposing figure, (seated image 91 cm. high), measuring 1.37 metres high including the *prabhāvaḷi* and pedestal. It is called *Brahmā* by the priests because of the three faces. P.R. Srinivasan identified the figure as that of Hālāhala Lokeśvara. The image in the *paryankāsana* on the lotus, is six-handed. All the three faces possess the third eye, the central face is somewhat longish and lustrous with enamelled eye balls. The *Jaṭāmukuṭa* adorning the three heads, possess *dhyāni-Buddhas* in *bhūmi-sparśa* within the *kirīṭa* niche. The flame-like *prabhā* in the form of a palanquin, is flanked at either ends by two handed. *gandharvas* (35 cm. high) who held *āyudhas* in hand. Male and female devotees in miniature with folded hands are depicted on the *kaṇṭha* recess of the pedestal. Of the six arms, the upper two are in *kartarī,* each perhaps hold a weapon between them. The middle ones are in *kaṭaka* to hold a lotus bud with stalk, while the lower right in *varada* has a *maṇi* in the palm. The left is in *vyākhyāna mudrā* . The *uttarīya*[56] of deer skin with the symbol of gazelle head is noteworthy.

(b) **Mañjuśrī** (*Pl.* 33)

This is another celebrated[57] bronze from Mañjunātha Temple and locally called Nārāyaṇa. It is 1.05 metres high, seated in *paryankāsana,* drapery covering the body up to the thigh. The image is four-handed, the upper two in *kaṭaka* pose, the left lower in *vyākhyāna mudrā,* the right lower in *varada* with a *guñja* in the palm. The *Jaṭāmukuṭa* is considerably tall, centrally with a *dhyāni* Buddha in the small niche. The *bhujakīrtis* also possess a miniature presentation of Akshobhya.

(c) Small Lokēśvara[58]

This is a four-handed bronze, 25 cm. in height standing in *sama-bhaṅga*. The upper two hands hold *akshamālā* and *padma,* while the lower two are in *abhaya*. The tapering *jaṭāmukuṭa* has a *dhyāni* Buddha in its fronton. This image suggests that the bigger Lokeśvara (no. 1 above) was the *pradhāna devatā* of this temple.

(4) Buddha (*Pl.* 34)

This is an elegant bronze figure of seated Buddha in *padmāsana,* locally called *vyāsa*. Two-handed, it is 61 cm. in height over a high pedestal. The right hand held up in *vyākhyāna mudrā,* while the left is kept on the cross-leg with palm upwards. He has long distarded ears thick curly hair, a centrally tied flame like *Śikhā* which becomes a characteristic of the late Choḷa bronzes of Buddha from Nāgapattinam.[59] The oval face, thick lips, smiling and half-closed eyes, robust body and the elegant *vastra* folds across the left chest, recall the finest Gaṅgā workmanship as noted among the Jaina bronzes of the period.[60] This bronze also, along with the above two examples, can be assigned to mid-10th century A.D.

Other Later Evidences

A stone image of Buddha seated on lotus in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* is noteworthy from Muluru, Udipi taluk District South Kanara.[61]

In Balgavi-Shikaripur taluk Rūpabhaṭṭayya, a state dignitary, caused the construction of *Jayantī Praboudha vihāra* in 1064 A.D. and arranged for the worship of Tārā–Bhagavatī and temple existed at Belgami (11th century A.D.), the figure is 61 cm. high and preserved at the local museum.[62] She has a long *tiara* with *dhyāni* Buddha engraved in the centre. B.A. Saletore held that most of the Bhagavatī temples in Tuḷunāḍu are of Buddhist Tārā-Bhagavatī origin.[63]

During the period of Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi the worship of Buddhist goddess of Tārā-Bhagavatī assumed great significance. Three centres[64] Balligave in district Shimoga, Dambal and Koliwad in District Dharwad were flourishing. Inscriptions reveal the construction of *vihāras,* installation of *Tārā* images, provision for regular worship and festivities. The Buddhist formulae "*Ye dharmā hetu prabhāvā*" etc. was found inscribed on the image of Tārā at Koliwad. The image of *Akshobhya* Bodhisattva in the temple at Puṭṭige, Mūdabiduri confirms the existence of Buddhism in 12th-13th century A.D. In medieval Karnataka we come across rulers who took pride in titling themselves as *Chatuḥsamayah i.e.* respectful to Śiva, Vishṇu, Jina and Buddha. An inscription[65] from Kaidala (Tumkur) dated to 1151 A.D. in this context is worth-stating:

"Jayanti yasyāvadātopi Bhāratī
Vibhūtayas tīrtha kṛitopi naihṛite
Śivāya dhātre sugatāya Vishṇave
Jināya tasmaī sakalātmane namaḥ".

The imprecatory portion of an epigraph dated 1545 A.D. from Karnataka says that if any one destroys the *śāsana,* he will be kept out of *Chatussamaya i.e.* Maheśvara, Buddha, Vaishṇava and *Arhata* faiths.[66] Buddha and Buddhist pantheon later lost separate identity as it imbibed the cults, rituals and the architectural patterns of the Brāhmanical religions. The Mañjunātha Temples at Kadri and Dharmasthala witness this assimilation by 10-11th century A.D.[67] Buddha becomes an *avatāra* of Vishṇu in the later Chāḷukyan,[68] Hoysaḷa and Kākatīya periods in Andhra-Karnataka. In the Vijayanagara period also Buddha is found depicted among the *Daśāvatāras* in Hazāra Rāma Temple.

Notes and References

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9. S.U. Deraniyagala, "Excavations in the Citadel of Anurādhāpura-Gedige, A Preliminary Report" in *Ancient Ceylon*, Vol. 6 (1986), pp. 39-48; Also see Martha Prickett Fernando, "Durable goods; The Archaeological Evidence of Sri Lanka's Role in the Indian Ocean Trade" in Senake Bhandaranayake, *et.al.* (ed) *Śrī Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, (Colombo, 1990), pp. 63-64 & 81-82. Allchin, F.R. "Patterns of City formation in Early Historic South Asia", *South Asian Studies*, no. 6 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 166-173.
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11. S.H. Ritti, "Newly Discovered edicts of Aśoka from Karnataka" *JESI*, Vol. VIII. pp. 101-104.
12. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, (London, 1959), p. 164.
13. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, (IIAS, Shimla, 1973), pp. 12-13, 15. It is surprising that this learned author avoids even a passing reference to the early historical cities and towns (pp. 65-67), like *Pratishṭhāna* (Paiṭhan), Iśilapaṭṭaṇa (Brahmagiri), Dantapurā

(Kalinganagara) Dhānyakaṭaka (Dharaṇikoṭa-Amaravati) and *Paudanya* (Bodhan) while comparatively later sites like Sisupalgarh, Chandraketugarh find special mention.

14. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 11-18, 34-36. K.V. Ramesh, "Recent Discoveries and Research Method" in Noboru Karashima (Ed) (Madras, 1985), pp. 3-4.
15. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Reinterpretations in South Indian History* (Trivandrum, 1977), pp. 83-98; Also "Mauryan Problem in Sangam Works in Historical Perspectives" *J.I.H.*, LII (Aug. 1975) pt. ii, pp. 245-254. Tāranātha says that Bindusāra destroyed the kinds of 16 towns and made himself master of all the territories between the Eastern and Western Seas, cf. K.P. Jayaswal, "The Empire of Bindusāra" *JBORS*, II (Patna, 1916),p. 82.
16. R.S. Panchamukhi, *Twelve Years of Kannada Research in Bombay State*, 1939-51 (Dharwad, 1951), P.V. Pts. II-III first line.
17. A. Sundara, "A two thousand year old town and its Architecture in Vadagaon-Madhavpur (Belgaum) in Karnataka", in *MADHU* (New Delhi, 1981), pp. 90-91.
18. *IAR*, 1985-86. p. 47.
19. *Ibid*, p. 41.
20. Belvadgi, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII (1967), pp. 131-132. Jivargi; Rao (1985), p. 43 Pl. 67; and Hippargi; Rao (1985), p. 44. Pl. 79.
21. *ARASI*, 1912-13, pp. 63-64. For latest digs see N.S. Ramachandra Murthy in *Annual Report Andhra Pradesh*, 1974-77 (Hyderabad, 1978), p. 5.
22. *Annual Report, South Indian Epigraphy*, 1926-27, p. 73 Bodhisiri refers to the construction of a *Śailamaṇḍapa* at this place (Pushpagiri) which later became a seat of Pāśpupata worship and a *Śaiva Pīṭha* got established here.
23. *IAR*, 1977-78, pp. 2-3, *Ibid.*, 1978-79, p. 4; For Chandavaram excavations see *IAR*, 1965-66, pp. 4, 79; 1973-74, p. 7; 1974-76, pp. 67; 1975-76, pp. 3-4 & 1976-77 pp. 9-10.
24. *JESI*, Vol. 7 (Dharwad, 1980), pp. 8-11. "*Therasa Putasa dānaṁ*", *IAR*, 1975-76, p. 20. A date of first century B.C. is wrong.
25. K.P. Poonacha, "Early Buddhist Sculptures and Brāhmī Inscriptions from Hampi" (under publication). The plain stones were found used in the plinth of Vijayanagara structures. It is likely that an early Buddhist editice was pillaged for raising thse medieval buildings in

mahānavamidibbā area. *IAR*, 1985-86, p. 40 Pl. VII-A.

26. A. Sundara "Some Noteworthy Antiquities from Banavasi Area" QJMS Vo. 70 no. 3 (July- Sept. 1979) pp. 164-167. Pl. II. Maitreya Buddha is a mortal Buddha worshipped alike by both Hīnayānists and Mahāyanists alike. Also see *K.V. Soundararajan Felicitation Volume*, (1991), Pl. 86. 8.
27. *JESI*, Vol. I (1974), pp. 34-39.
28. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV (1962) pp. 254-255. Plate. The stone measures 1.22 m. wide and 1.22 m. high.
29. S.H. Ritti, "Buddhism in Kannada Inscriptions" in Devendra Handa, and Ashvini Agrawal (Ed) *Ratna Chandrikā*, (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 315-321. But A. Sundara in *QJMS* Vol. 70, no. 3. p. 164. has dated this Nāga stone inscription to circa 2nd century B.C. which is not correct.
30. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, Inscription-H. P. 24 and plate. Also *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 148.
31. A. Sundara in *Karṇāṭaka Bhāratī*, Vol. 8 no. 2 (Dharwad) p. 13.
32. I.K. Sarma, op.cit., (1988) pp. 13-15. Ep. Ind. XXXIII, p. 249.
33. A. Sundara had identified a Terracotta human head found at Vadagaon-Madhavapur excavations as of Buddha, but this is very doubtful cf. *Madhū (1981)*, p. 90. Also see *Soundararajan Felicitation Volume*, (1991) pp. 598 Pl. 86. 2. Fig. 1, p. 605 (This is found in 1985).
34. *Ratna Chandrikā*, p. 315.
35. A Sundara in *Karṇāṭaka Bhāratī*, Vol. 8 no. 2 (Dharwad) p. 14.
36. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, pp. 33-34.
37. A. Sundara in *Mānavikā Bhāratī*, Vol. I, no. 2 (Kannada, 1977). p. 1
38. S. Settar "A Buddhist Vihāra at Aihole", East and West, 19 (1969), pp. 126-138; A. Sundara in *Archaeological Studies*, Vol. II (Mysore, 1976), pp. 73-74, U.P. Shah, "A Buddhist sculpture from Aihole", *Vājapeya*, (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 203-206.
39. Michael Meister and M.A. Dhaky (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of India Temple Architecture (Upper Dravidadēśa)* Vol. I pt. 2 (Varanasi, 1986), p. 20-21. fis. 14 and page 7-16. However, K.V. Soundara Rajan rejects the identification of the figure as *Buddha* "There are virtually no Buddhist remains at all at Aihole" of. *Cave Temples of the Deccan* (New Delhi, 1981) p. 74.
40. P.V. Parabrahma Sastri, "Hyderabad Prakrit Inscription of Govindaraja Vihara," *JESI*, XI (Dharwad, 1984), pp. 96-99, Also *Bharati* (July, 1983), pp. 13-18 (Telugu literary, monthly).

41. K.V. Soundara Rajan *op.cit* (1981) pp. 76-78.
42. *Ep.Ind.* XXVIII, pp. 70-75.
43. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, xvi, No. 78 p. 77.
44. *ASMAR*, 1906-1911, (1970), pp. 176-177.
45. *ASMAR*, 1921, p. 21; Kudlur plates.
46. K.V. Ramesh, *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas*, (New Delhi, 1984), No. 138, Verse-26, p. 419.
47. P.R. Srinivasan, "Antiquities of Tuḷunāḍu" in *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Vol. I, (1955), p. 75 B.A. Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, p. 376.
48. H. Kern, *Mannual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg, 1896), pp. 122-124.
49. M. Govinda Pai, *Teṅka Nāḍu*, p. 37. *MAR*, no. 39 (1939). *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, t. 1 no. 197.
50. P. Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, (Kallianpur, 1975), p. 372, Pl. 298 (a).
51. *Ibid.*, p. 372. Pl. 304(b).
52. P.R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes of South India*, Bulleting of the Madras Government Museum, Vol. VII, (1965), pp. 163-170. Figs. 101-103.
53. S. Nagaraju, "Vestiges of Buddhist Art" in *MARG, Heritage of Karnataka*, (Bombay, 1982), p. 30. J.C. Harle has aptly pointed out about a seated Buddha of bronze in *dhyāna*, on a throne with elaborate *Prabhāvatiḷ* originally from Nagapattinam, now in Government Museum, Madras as an import from Chāḷukyan country. These images bear a distinct Gaṅga physiognomy. cf: *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Sub Continent*, (Pelican, 1986), pp. 326-327 Pl. 257.
54. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, no. 191.
55. *JESI*, IV, pp. 91ft. Also K.V. Ramesh, in Noboru Karashima (ed.). *Indus Valley to Mekong Delta*, (Madras, 1985), pp. 18 and 27-28.
56. Dr. Bhatt has vividly described this image but does not regard it as a Buddhist deity but a *Śaivite* one - Nāthapanthi origin, as the *Yajñōpavīta* and the relief of *Sivalingas* on the *Prabhāvaḷi* indicate. See his *Studies in Tuluva History ad Culture*, pp. 298, 370-372.
57. P.K. Gururaja Bhatt, *op.cit.*, p. 298. Pl. 302(a).
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 298-299 Pl. 337(b).
59. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta, 1971) pp. 17, 197 Pl. 31 now in Madras Govt. Museum, Egmore. A stone Buddha from Kāñchī also has similar head and *vastra* folds. p. 194. Pl. 122.
60. I.K. Sarma, *Architectural Survey of Temples of Gangas of Karṇaṭaka*,

(New Delhi, 1992) pp. 208-213. Pls. 168-175.

61. P.K. Gururaja Bhatt, *op.cit.*, p. 372. Pl. 298(b).
62. S. Nagaraju in *Marg* (1982), p. 32-33 Fig. 9.
63. B.A. Saletore, *op.cit.*, pp. 379-383.
64. P.B. Desai, "Buddhist Antiquities in Karnataka", *Journal of Indian History*, (Trivandrum) pp. 85-88. The Dambal inscription records the donations made to *ārya-Tāra-Vihāra* and *Bauddha Vihāra* by a merchant of Lokkigundi (Lakkundi) Dharwar District; cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 185; D. Mitra, *op.cit.*, (1971) pp. 192-193.
65. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XII, Tm-9, pp. 4-5 Text p. 7.
66. *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. VIII, no. 248.
67. P.V. Bapat, *op.cit.*, pp. 309-310. Buddha becomes an *avatāra* of Vishṇu before the time of Gauḍapāda (725 A.D.)
68. Pāpanāśi group, Alampur. See *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture, South Indian, Upper Draviḍadēśa* (Delhi, 1986), p. 175.

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Index

Abhagavāhanaḥ 65
abhaya 116
Adam 67, 68
Adapur 108
Addanki 109
adhiṣṭhāna 4
Agnihotri 102
Agrawal, Ashvini 120
Ahimarikā 84, 93, 94, 96
Ahmadnagar 68
Aihole 78, 112
Akhapaṭalikā 98
akṣara 9, 42
akshamālā 116
Akshobhya 115
  Bodhisattva 117
Alagankulam 106
Ali, Md. 60, 95
Allchin, F.R. 118
Ālūpa Āluvarasa-II 115
  Kundavarman 114
amāchi 60, 84, 85
Amanika 99
Amaravati 64, 104-106, 109, 110, 119
Amarendra Nath 67, 73
amātya 82, 83, 85
Amātyaputra 82
amātyī 85
Anārta 67
Anantpur 75
Anbi 108
Andhau 85
Andhra 23, 24, 69, 75, 78, 80, 104-110
  Karnataka 24, 25, 71, 79, 95, 104, 117
  Pradesh 23, 67
Ani 96
ankaṇa 4
Ankola 112
antarāla 4
antevāsini 75
Anurādhapur 106
Apakuṭi 83
Aparānta 65, 67, 70, 71, 105
  Maharaṭha 105
Araka 99, 100, 103
Archaeological Survey of India 4, 51, 61, 107
ardhaparyaṅkaāsana 64, 88
Arhata 117
Arika 93
Arka 100
Āryadāsi 94, 95
Āryaputra 24
Ārya Sangha 111
Asaka 65, 67, 68
Āsankita 113

āshāḍha 7
Asher Frederick 25, 62
Asika 68
Asikanagar 68
Aśmaka 67, 80
Aśoka 5-10, 23-25, 48, 105-107, 111
Edicts 6, 7, 22, 24, 28, 42, 53, 60, 61, 69, 104, 105
Empire 23, 24, 106
Tope 113
Assaka 67
Assaka-Janapada 67, 68
Atisaya 92
Atiyaman 107
Avalokiteśvara 112
avatāra 117
āyaka 93
Āyaputa 23
āyudha 115
Azes 70

Bādāmi 112
Balivadara 83
Balligave 116
Banavāsi 71, 76-80, 105, 109, 110
Bangalore 6
Circle 61, 97, 107
Bapat, P.V. 118
Barua, B.M. 26
Basavanna Temple 60, 101
Bāvāri 104
Bedagaon 112
Belgami 116
Belgaum 78, 107
Belkanahalli 114
Bellary 80, 106, 108
district 23, 109, 114
Belmannu Plates 115
Belvadgi 97, 107, 119
Beṁṇākata (ka) 65, 66
Beṇākaṭaka (also Beṇātaṭa) 66, 68
Bengal 114, 115
Benagutti 88
Berar 66
Bhadanta Sanghadeva 112
Bhagavati Temple 116
Bhambi 100
Bhandarkar, R.G. 72
Bhati 84
Bhatt, P. Gururaja 121, 122
Bhattiprolu 1104-106
Bhavnagar 68
Bhikuni 94
Bhīmā 3, 4, 9, 24, 60, 95, 107, 108
Bhoḍasa 91
Bhoja Āsanika 113
Bhojaka 68
Bhoolappa 60
bhujakīrtī 115
bhumisparśamudra 115, 116
Bhūtapāla 110
Bidarhalli 112
Bikhu Sangha 107
Bindusār 119
Birappa 60
Birappa Temple 85
Bobruwada 112
Bodhan 67, 119
Bodhisattva Maitreya 112
Mañjughosha 114
Mañjuri 114
Bodhisiri 119
BodhiVṛiksha 106, 111
Prāsāda 110
Brahmā 115
Brahmagiri 23, 24, 105, 106, 108
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 71, 75
Brahmanical art 112
religion 117
Brahmapuri 78, 97

-Ter 75
Brāhmī 6, 10, 21, 59, 60, 63, 65, 75, 77, 84, 93, 96
Buddha 91, 104, 106, 109-117, 120-122
Pāda 109, 111
Buddhaśreṇi 68, 104-108, 111-114, 117,
Buddhist 26, 104, 106, 117, 120, 122
āchārya 105
Centre 4, 60, 109
Images 112, 114
Monastery 92
Sangha 77, 109
Site 3, 106, 109, 110
Būtuga-II 113

Calcutta 40, 51
Cambay 68
Cambridge 42
Chaitanyapuri 112
Chaitya 110
arch 85
decoration 89
window 88, 91, 93
Chaityaka 109, 111
Chakora 65, 68
Chakrapaṭa 76
Chakravarti, N.P. 27
Chāḷukya 6, 112, 117
Vinayāditya 59
Chāmara 88
Chamuṇḍa 5
Chāṇḍala Parameśvarī 3
Chaṇḍa Śiva 79
Śri 79
Chandavarma 109
Chandgutti 105
Chandralāṁbā 3, 6
Temple 8, 59-61, 75, 83, 86-89, 93, 96, 99-102
Chandraketūgarh 119
Chandrāṁbā 3
Chandravadana 3
Chandravalli 75, 78
Chashṭhana 74
Chaturmāsi 7
Chatuḥsamayaḥ 117
Chauri 82, 87, 108
Chchāyā Pratimā 108
Stambha 97
Chhā Patharo 71
Chhatra 111
Kambhā 90
Chitapur taluk 3, 108
Chitapur-Nalwar R.S. 3
Chitradurga 78, 105
district 23, 105
Choḷa 107, 114, 116
Christ 70
Chutukulānanda 110
Chu-li-ya 113
Chūladharmagiri *vihāra* 110
Cuddapah 75,108
Cunningham, Sir Alexander 74

Dakhina 65, 69
Dakshiṇā Patha 64
Patheśvara 77
Dambal 117
Dantapurā 118
darpaṇa 88
Daśāvatāra 117
Daṭila 89
Deccan 24, 71, 104, 107, 108
Peninsula 69
Delhi-Topara Edict-VII 7
Deraniyagala, S.U. 118
Desai, P.B. 4, 25, 60, 62, 86, 94-97
Deshpande, B.M. 25

Deṭika 84
Deva Chhadka 98
    Temple 113
Devamma Temple 101
Devānāṁpriyā 11-13, 16, 17, 20, 32, 52
Devi 5, 6
    Kālikāṁbā Shrine 4, 6
Dey, N.L. 72
Dhaky, M.A. 121
Dhammapadāṭṭakatha 104
Dhaṁñakaṭa 66
Dhānyakaṭaka 106, 109
Dharamaha 88
Dharanikota 105, 119
Dharmā 7, 8, 11, 12, 32, 34
Dharmasthala 114, 117
Dharmmaśilā 7
Dharwad 4
    district 79, 117
Dhauli 7, 13, 14, 21-23, 35-39
Dhoolapa 101
Dhujitaka 90
Dhulikatta 77
dhyāna 121
Dhyāni 114-116
Digambara 113
dīpastaṁbha 114
Draviḍadeśa 107
Droṇadāsa 83
Durga Temple 84, 93
Dutt, S. 118
Dutthagāmini 105
Dvārapāla 76

Ekadhanudhara 65, 70
ekakusasa 65, 70
Ekāntamata 113
Eli Ehavula 64
Epigraphical Society of India 71
Erragudi 9, 10, 21-25, 28-31, 33, 34, 106

Faculty of Oriental Studies 42
Fernando, Martha Prickett 118

Gai, G.S. 25, 26, 62, 75, 77, 86, 96, 103
gaṇaka 93
Gāndhāra 109
Gandharva 115
Gaṅga 113, 114, 116, 121
Ganjam district 12
garbhagṛiha 4
Gautamīputra 66, 67, 69, 70, 73, 78
    Sātakarṇi 64-66, 74, 75, 79, 80, 108
    Vāśishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi-II 80
    Yajña Śri 78,80
gavāksha motif 94
Gavimath 23
Gedige 106
Ghāla 90
Ghosh, A. 105, 118
Giri 24
Girija 93
Girinagara 67
Girnar 28-31, 33, 34, 67
God 11, 12, 32, 34, 77
Godavari 67
Gokhale, Shobhana 81
Gondophares 70
Gonhal 78
Govardhana 66
    Benākaṭaka Svami 66
Government Museum Gulbarga 26, 77, 82, 91, 93, 98, 99
    Madras 121
    Mangalore 114
Govidāsi 94, 95

Govindarājā Govindavarman 112
Vihāra 112
Gowda Channabasappa 60, 94
gṛihapati 93, 94
Grihiṇi 93-97
Gujarat 67, 68, 111
Gulbarga 3, 24-
district 3, 23, 24
guñja 115
Guntur district 110

Haigunda 111
Hālāhal Lokeśvara 115
Hampi 109
Handa Devendra 120
Hanuman Temple 60, 83, 101
Harle, J.C. 121
Hasargundgi 108
Hathigumpha *Praśasti* 68
Hazāra Rāma Temple 117
Hema Nanda 93
Hieun Tsang 105, 112, 113
Hīnayāna 110, 112, 120
Hingūla 25
Hippargi 97, 107
Howell, James 4, 26
Hoysaḷa 117
Huka 98
Hultzch, E. 14, 19, 26, 27
Hyderabad 3, 5, 67, 112
Circle 5, 6, 61

Ikshvāku 63, 85, 109
Calligraphy 65, 76
City 68
dynasty 64, 110
India 23, 24, 105
Iśila 105
Paṭṭaṇa 118

Jaḍa guchcha 64
Jagaṭī 4
Jaggayyapeta 104
Jaina 114, 116
Jainism 113
Jambūdvīpa 110
jātaka 109, 111
Jaṭāmukuṭa 115, 116
Jating-Rameswara 23
Jaugada 7, 12, 13, 19, 21, 22,35-39
Jayadutturanga Būtuga II 113
Jayanti Prabaudha Vihār 116
Jayavi 65, 68
Jayaswal, K.P. 119
Jevargi 107
taluk 108
Jina 117
Jogalthambi Hoard 70
Jonnagiri 23, 24
Junagarh *Praśastī* 67
Junnar record 70

Kaḍagodu 110
Kadamba 107
Kaḍarika 114
Kadri 114, 117
Kaidala 117
Kākatīya 117
Kakshāsana 4
Kalaka 97
Kāli Temple 83
Kalinga 7, 8, 13, 22
edict 13, 25
Kalinganagar 119
Kalsi 22, 28-31, 33, 34
Kalyāṇi Chāḷukya 4
Kamalapur 109
Kanaganahalli 4, 108
Kāñchī 110, 122
Kaṇha Bemṇa 66

Kaṇhan (river) 66
Kanheri 81
Kanṭha 115
Kapaḍara 87
Kapāla 5
Karajaka 73
Karaṇḍa 91
Karashima, N. 118, 122
Kārdamaka Kshatrapa Chasṭhana 67, 73
Karimnagar 67
Karle 73, 110
Karnataka 4, 23, 59, 66, 75-80, 104-111, 113, 114, 117
Kartarī 115
Kārtika 7
Kashmir 25
Kāshmīra-Gāndhāra 104
Kaṭaka 115
Kathiawar 67, 68
Kaṭṭu 114
Kaveripattinam 110
Kekaya 111
Kerala 106
Keralaputa 107
Kern, H. 121
Ketani 83
Ketavaram 108
Khaḍa Sātakarṇi 78
Khaha 88
Khandesh 68
Khapa 66
Khāravela 69
Kings Audience Hall 109
Kirīṭa 115
Kodabalasiri 110
Kodihalli 107
Kolhapur 97
Kollur 108
Komārī 102
Kongu region 107
Konkan 67
Koliwad 117
Koshṭha 4
Kratu 83
Kṛishṇa 3
Krishnamacharyulu, C.R. 23
Krishna Rao Kapatral 3, 25
Kshaharāta 65, 69, 70
  Kshatrapa 66
  Kshatrapakula 69
  Nahapāna 67
Kshatrapa 94
  Kula 65
  Princess 75
Kukutlapalli 109
Kukurā Parānta 67
Kula 70
Kulaghāta 65
Kuṁbha 89
Kundavarma 114
Kurnool 24, 25, 105
  district 21, 23, 108
Kurugodu 114

lalitāsana 108
Lingappa 60
Lingasenappa 101
Lokeśvara 114, 116
Lokottaravādin 111
London 113
Longhurst, A.H. 71, 92

Mādhava Varma-III 113
Madhukeśvara Temple 110
Māgadlū 22
Mahābhārata 67, 71
Mahāchāitya 106
Mahādaṇḍṭanāyaka 77, 85
Mahādeva Thera 105

Mahādevī 76
Mahāgrāmi Kumāra 84
Mahā Kāḷa 6
Mahākāvya 64
mahāmaṇḍapa 4
mahāmātra 7, 11, 13, 16-18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 33, 55, 105
Mahānāsika 99
Mahānavamidibba 109, 120
Mahā-Rakhita 105
Maharashtra 66, 68, 75, 110
Mahāraṭhi 77
Mahāraṭhi Putusa 85
Mahā Sanghika 104, 109, 111
Mahā Saptivāhanaḥ 77
Mahā-Sārthavāhana 63, 77
Mahāsena 83
Mahāsenāpatni 83, 85
Mahātalavāra 85
Mahātharaka 77
Mahāvaṁśa 105, 106, 110
Mahāyāna 110, 112, 114, 120
Mahendra 112
Maheśvara 117
Mahī 101
Mahishamaṇḍala 105
Vanavāsi 104
Maitraka 68
Maitreya 110, 120
Malaji
Mālāvāhaka 111
Mallayanagudi 60, 101
Malur 107
Mañchaka 96
manda 24
Maṇḍalāgra bṛisi 63
maṇḍapa 114
Māndhāta 64
Mandya 113
Maṅgaḷādi
Mangaḷeśa 112
Mangalore 114
Manjarabad 114
Mañjunātha 114
Cult 114
Temple 114, 115, 117
Muñjuśri 115
maṇi 115
Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa 68
Marshall, Sir John 73
Maski 23, 105
Mauryan 5, 7, 24, 104, 106, 107,
Emperor 105, 106
Empire 23
Maya 100
Medak 67
Megasthenese 105
Megutti Temple 112
Mehandale, M.A. 27
Mehta, R.N. 72
Meister, Micheal 120
mekhala 64
Melkote 113
Mint area 109
Mirashi, V.V. 77, 80
Mitabhūti 90
Mitra, Debala 60, 62, 73, 122
Moggaliputta 105
mūḍa 88
Mudabidri 117
Mūḍaka 68
Muḍana 84
Mukherjee, B.N. 74
Mukhuḍika 95
Mūlaka 65, 67, 68, 80, 104
Muluru 116
Mundagod 112
Myakadoni 79, 80
Mysore 4, 71
Nadiya Guḍa 95

Nāga 92, 110, 120
Nāgabudhū 75, 87
Nāgadeva 99
nāga keyūra 5
(Nā)gamu 88
Nāgamuchalinda 111
Nāganikā 93
Nāgapattinam 121
Nagappa 87
Nagaraja Rao, M.S. 25, 26, 60, 62, 75, 86
Nagaraju, S. 62, 114, 121
Nagarjunakonda 64, 68, 85, 109, 110
Nāgarika 111
Nagpur 67
Nahapāna 65, 66, 70
Nalagiri 112
nālika 6, 10
Nanda 93, 107
Nanded 67
Nārāyaṇa 3, 115
Narayanan, M.G.S. 119
Nasik 66, 77
  Inscription 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70
  Praśasti 64, 65, 69, 70, 73
Natha Pantha 114
  Panthi 122
naṭika 95
Nati Vālukī 95
Navasi 76
Nellore 75
New Delhi 40, 51, 53
nikāya 90
Nittur 10, 23, 105, 106
Nizamabad 67
Nolamba 5
Norman, K.R. 9, 26, 27, 42
North Kakhadi 66
  Kanara district 111-113
  Kathiawar 67
Orissa 12, 21

Pāda 111
Padāna Sāsanasya 70
Padma 116
Padma jagatī 4
Padmāsaṇa 112, 116
Padma Sri 87, 88
Pai, M. Govinda 121
Paithan 68, 118
Palkigunḍu 23
Palnad 109, 110
Panchamukhi, R.S. 119
Pāṇḍava 114
Pāṇḍya 106, 107
Parama Saugata 112
Paryankāsana 115
Pāṭaliputra Council 105
Patni 93
Patridge mountain 68
Paudanya 67, 119
Pauni 68
Payashṇī 66
Peddachapalli 108
Phālguṇa 7
Pindapātika 112
Pinṭhavāda 112
Pitinika 69
Pīṭha 6, 8, 9, 13
Poonacha, K.P. 61, 97, 107, 119
Prabhā 115
Prabhāvali 115, 122
Pradhānadevatā 116
Prākāra 95
Prakasam 95
Prakasam district 109
Prākrit 10, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65
Prākritic 23
Prathishṭhāna 66, 68, 71, 118

Priyadarśi 34
Priyadarśin 11, 32
Priyadatta 82
Priyanka 102
Puḍumāvi 78
Pulinda 69
Puḷōhamāvi 79, 80
Puḷumāvi 64, 67-70, 73, 78, 79,
Puḷumāvi-II 77
Puḷumavi-IV 79
Puṇḍravardhana 115
Purāṇa 75, 78-80
Puri district 13
Pūrṇa 66
Pūrṇakumbha 111
Purushadatta 84
Pushpagiri 108, 119
Pushya 7
Puṭṭige 117

Raichur district 23
Rājagṛiha 104
Rājāmātya 82, 83
Gaganaka 82, 86
Rāma Siri 86
Rājāmātyi 82, 83
Rājanna 60, 101
Rāja Rāja 114
Rājuka 7
Rajulamandagiri 24, 106
Rājulu 24
Rakhita 101, 105
Rāma 3
Ramachandra Murthy, N.S. 119
Ramanāṭhapuram 106
Rāma Śri 82
Ramesh, K.V. 3, 22, 26, 27, 51, 97, 105, 119, 121, 122
Raṇamaṇḍala 5, 24, 71
Ranga Reddy district 110
Rao, S.R. 6
Rapson, E.J. 72, 73
Raṭha 68
Rathika 68, 69
Raṭṭa 65
Rāyalsīma 106, 108
Rishabhadatta 66
Ritti, S.H. 111, 118, 120
Roja 107
Roman 85
Rosen, S. Elizabeth 92
Rudradāman 67, 75, 85
Rudrapurushadatta 92
Ruḍupāla 99
Rupabhaṭṭayya 116

Sabhā Parva 67
Sagar, A.P. 5
Sahasaram 105
Śaila 109, 111
Śaila maṇḍapa 119
Śaiva Piṭha 119
Śaivite 122
Śaka era 74
Śaka-Kshatrapa 75, 111
Princess Vammabhaṭa 92
Śaktaic 3, 5
Śākyaśila 113
Salatore, B.A. 116
Sama-bhanga 116
Samāpa 13, 20
Samāya 94
Sāmba 101
Samkapa 98
Sangha 113
Sanghanika 84, 85
Sannathi 25
Sannati 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 21-25, 28-31, 33, 34-40, 42, 51, 53, 59-61, 66, 69-71, 76, 78, 80, 85, 94,

95, 98, 104-107, 109-111
Sanskrit 98
Santhi 25
Saptivāhana 77
Sarkar, H. 104, 118
Sarma, I.K. 9, 40, 42, 51-54, 55, 71-74, 80, 81, 118, 120.
Sārthavāha 77
Śāsana 117
Sases 70
Sastri, P.V. Parabrahma 121
Sastry, H. Krishna 23
Sātakarṇi 64, 70, 78
Sātakarṇi-IV 78, 80
Satanikota 108
Sātavāhana 3, 59, 63-71, 76-80, 85, 107, 108,111
Art 109
Empire 71, 78
Ikshvāku 63, 85, 104, 109
Koṭe 3
Kula 65, 70
Saurashtra 67, 75
Segiyappa 60, 91
Selanikāya 89
Senāye Vaijayantiye 66
Senior, R.C. 70, 73
Serama 98
Seranha 91
Seshadri, M. 4, 25, 59, 62, 86, 96, 97, 103
Seṭagirī 68
Settar, S. 112, 120
Setu 3
Seturūjana Kaṭṭe 3
Shah, U.P. 120
Shahpur 107
Sharma, M.J. 79, 81
Shastri, A.M. 81
Shikarpur 110
Shikarpur taluk 116
Shimoga district 107, 110, 117
Siddapur 23, 24, 105
Siddham 75
Siddhārtha 64
Siddhuladarī 68
Siddhulagavulu 108
Sihadi 93
Śikhā 116
Śikhara 5
Śilāgṛiha 110
Śilāphalakāni 7
Silver PMC 105
Silver Portrait Coin 77, 78
Simhadhara 86
Simhaḷa 97, 106
Siraguppa 23
Sircar, D.C. 8, 13, 23, 26, 27, 72, 73, 77, 79, 118, 119
Śiri Maka 88
Siriṭana 68
Siri Virapurushadatta 110
Sirsi taluk 112
Sisupalgarh 119
Sitā 3
Sitarama Murthy, P. 109
Site Museum, Hampi 109
Śiva 79, 80, 117
Śivalinga 122
Siva Sarma R.V. 5, 6, 40, 51
(Śiva) Skanda 78
Śivaskaṇda Nāgasiri 110
Siva Srī 77
Puḍumāvi 76
Puḷumāvi 110
Śivathaṇaka 101
Society of Oriental Studies 4
Somagha 90, 91
Sonnagiri 23
Sopara 67

Soundara Rajan, K.V. 121
South Indian Communities 64
South Kanara District 113, 115, 116
Śramaṇa 100
Śreshṭhi 77, 93, 110
Śri Khīrya 87
Śri Lanka 97, 105, 106, 110, 111
Srinivasamurti, G. 27
Srinivasan, P.R. 121
Śrinivasa Rao, G.V. 5, 6, 40, 53
Śrī Paravata 68, 110, 111
Śrī Puḷumavi-II 77
Sriyapāla 89
Sthala Purāṇa 3
Sthāvira Ānand 112
Stūpa 4, 59, 94, 105, 108
Subramanian, K.R. 118
Sūchipaṭṭa 111
Sudha 76
Śukthankar, V.S. 79, 87
Sūla 94
Sundara, A. 4, 26, 107, 109, 110, 119, 120
Sundarananda 112
Sūrparaka 67
Surāshṭra 71
Suvaṇṇabhūmī 105
Śuvarṇagiri 23-25, 105, 106
Śyāmā 90
Śyāmādāsa 101
Syamalokika 100

Takalghāt 66
Takshaśila 18
Taṁbapaṇṇi 105
Tandur 110
Tāntrik Vajrayāna 113
Tapti 66
Tārā 117
  Bhagavati 116, 117
Tārānatha 119
taṭaka 110
Taxila 73
Telugu 23
Tewari, S.P. 79, 81
Thera 105
Theravāda 104
Theravādin 111
  āchārya 110
Thosar, H.S. 72
tiara 116
Tibeto-Nepalese 114
Tishya 17, 21, 55
  nakshatra 7
Togarasi 110
toraṇa 84
Tosali 16, 25
Trirashmi 66
triśūla 5
Tulabhūta 90
  Tuḷunaḍu114, 115
Tumkur 117
Tungabhadra 23, 108
Tuvera 69

Udegolam 10, 23, 105, 106
Udipi taluk 116
Ujjain 78
Ujjayini 78
Ummiguḍḍa 110
Uparigirāparāñata 67
Uparkot 67
Upāsika 90
Uttarīya 115

Vadagaon-Madhavapur 78, 107, 120
Vaddamanu 105
Vaishṇava 117
Vajrayāna 113, 114
Vākāṭaka 66

Vala 68
Valabhi 68
Valiyataya 102
Valla 68
Valūruka 73
Vammabhaṭa 92
Vanavāsa 105
Vanavāsaka Mahārāja 110
Vanavāsi 110
Vāni 91
Vaṇīya 83, 88, 93, 96
Vaṇiyaka 83, 88
Varada 115
Varanasi 66
Varaprasada Rao, J. 5, 6, 40, 51, 53
Vasana 79, 80
Vāśishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi 64, 65, 69, 77, 80, 81
Puḷumāvi-II 79
Satakarṇi 75, 77
Satakarṇi -IV 78
Siri Puḷumāvi 81
Siri Chamutamūla 64
Siri Pulumāvi 79
Siri Sātakarṇi 63
SivaSri Puḍumāvi 76
Siva Śri Puḷumāvisa - IV 79
Siva Śri Puḍumāvi 63, 71, 80
Śiva Śri Puḷumāvi 77, 79
Śri Satakarṇi 75

Vastra 116
Vātāyana 91
Veṇi 64
Viceroy 25
Vidabha 66
Vidarbha 65, 66, 80
Vihāra 107, 110, 112-117
Vijayanagar 117, 120
Vijayapuri 110
Vikrama era 74
Vinayāditya 59
Vindhyagiri 25
Vīra 96
Virapuram 108
Vīrasvarga 64
Viśākha 90
Visapur 81
Vishṇu 117
Vishṇukaḍa 110
Vishṇukuṇḍin 112
Vishṇupālita 66
Vyāvahāramudrā 112, 115, 116
Vyāsa 116

Wādi-Secundrabad 3
Wala 68
Walter's, T 113
Waiṇagangā 66
Warangal 67
West Coast 67, 70, 71, 106
Wheeler, R.E.M. 78, 106

Yadgir 3
Yajña 83
Yajñopavīta 122
Yakha 95
Yakhanikā 85
Yaksha 75, 108, 111
Yakshanika 84, 85
Yavana 69
Yavanika 85
Yazdani Ghulam 118
Yona Himavanta 105

ILLUSTRATIONS

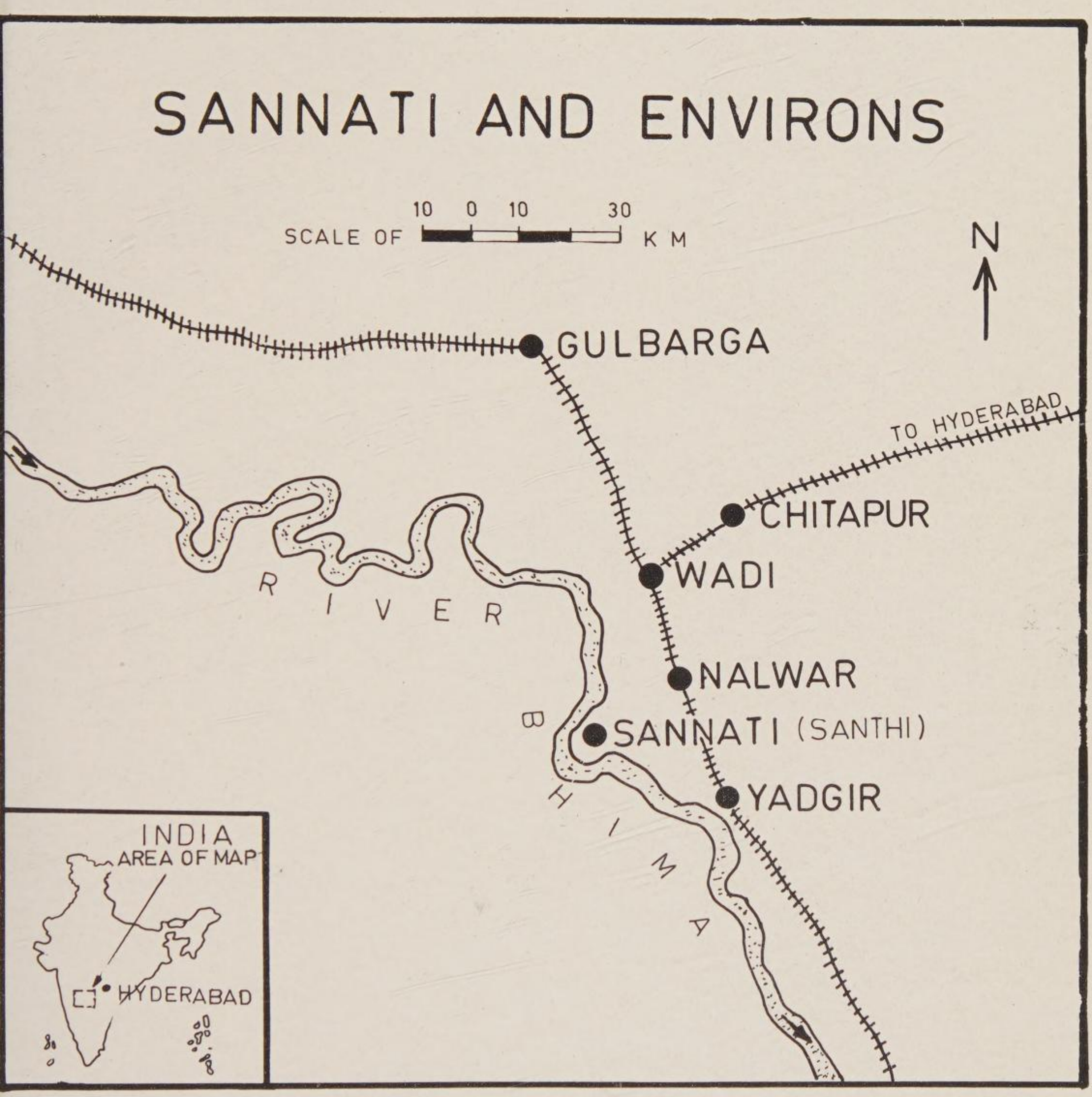


Fig. 1. Sannati and Environs

SANNATI CONTOUR MAP

DIST. GULBARGA, KARṆĀṬAKA

SCALE 200 0 200 600 1000 1400 METRES.

(CONTOURS IN FEET)

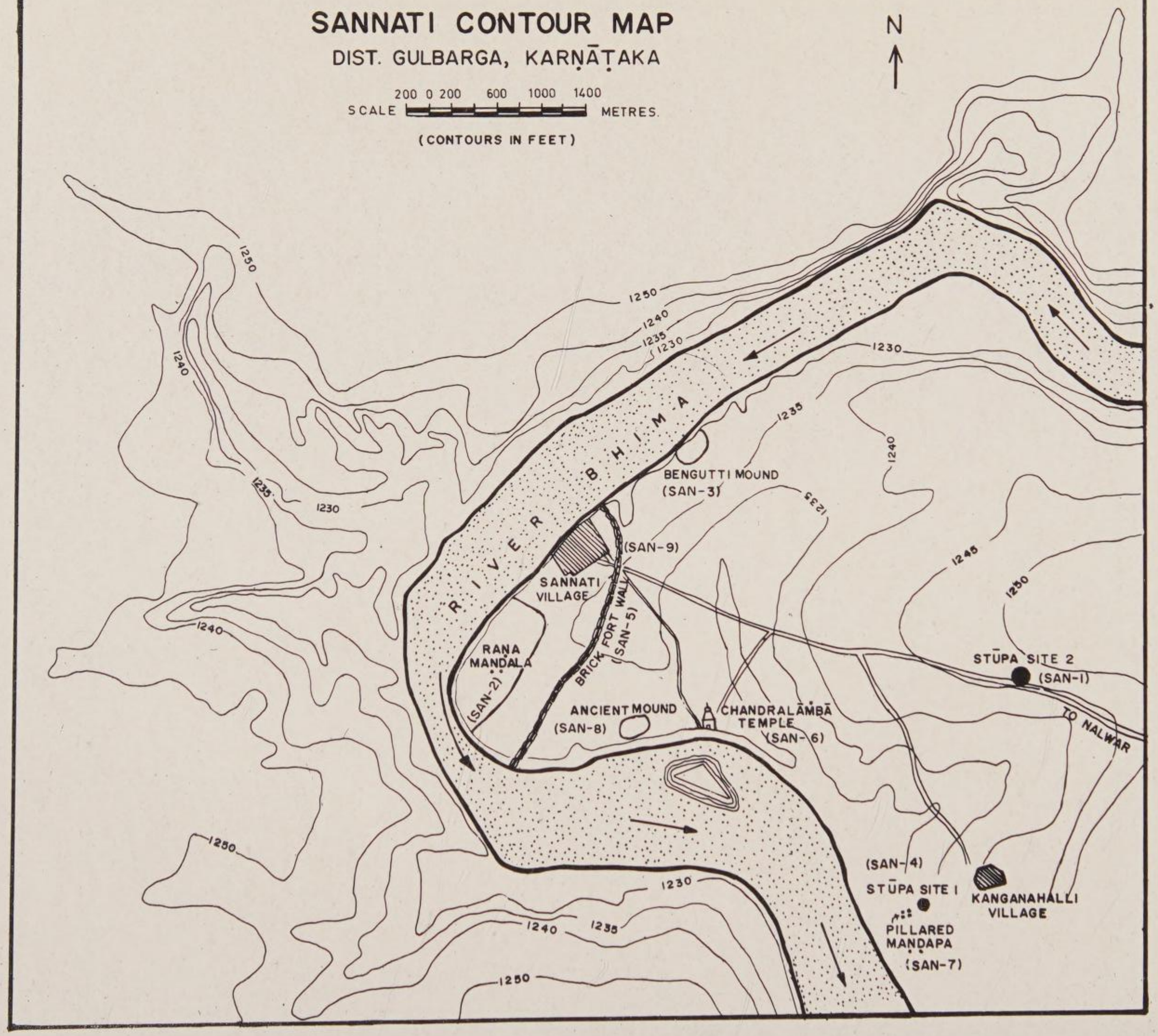


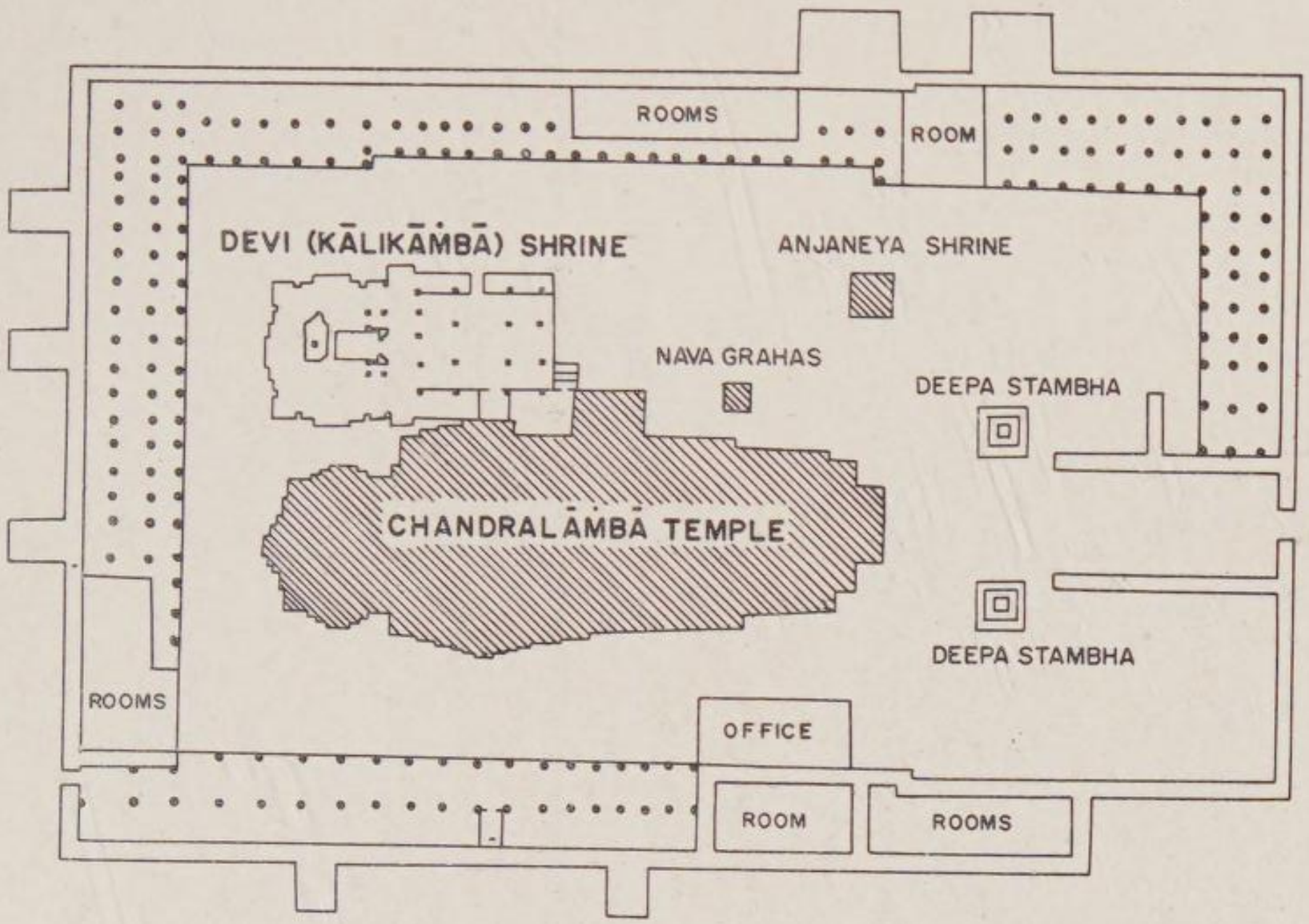
Fig. 2. Sannati, Contour Map

CHANDRALĀṀBĀ TEMPLE

SANNATI- DIST. GULBARGA

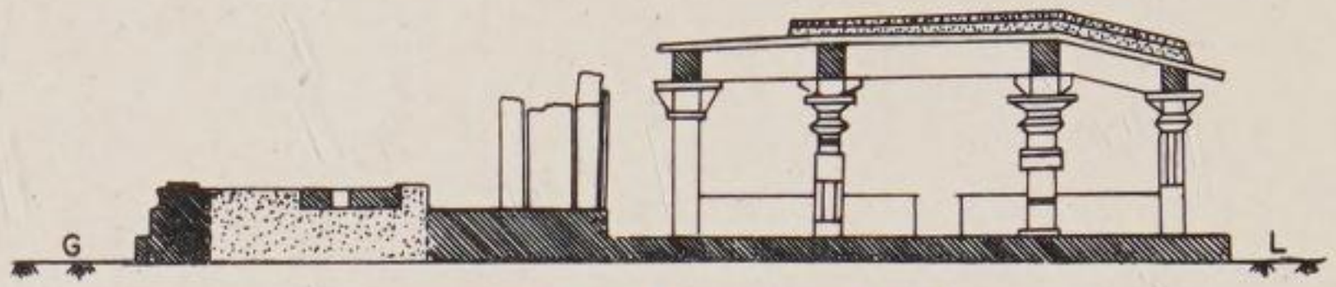
KARṆĀṬAKA

SCALE OF 3 0 3 6 9 12 15 METRES

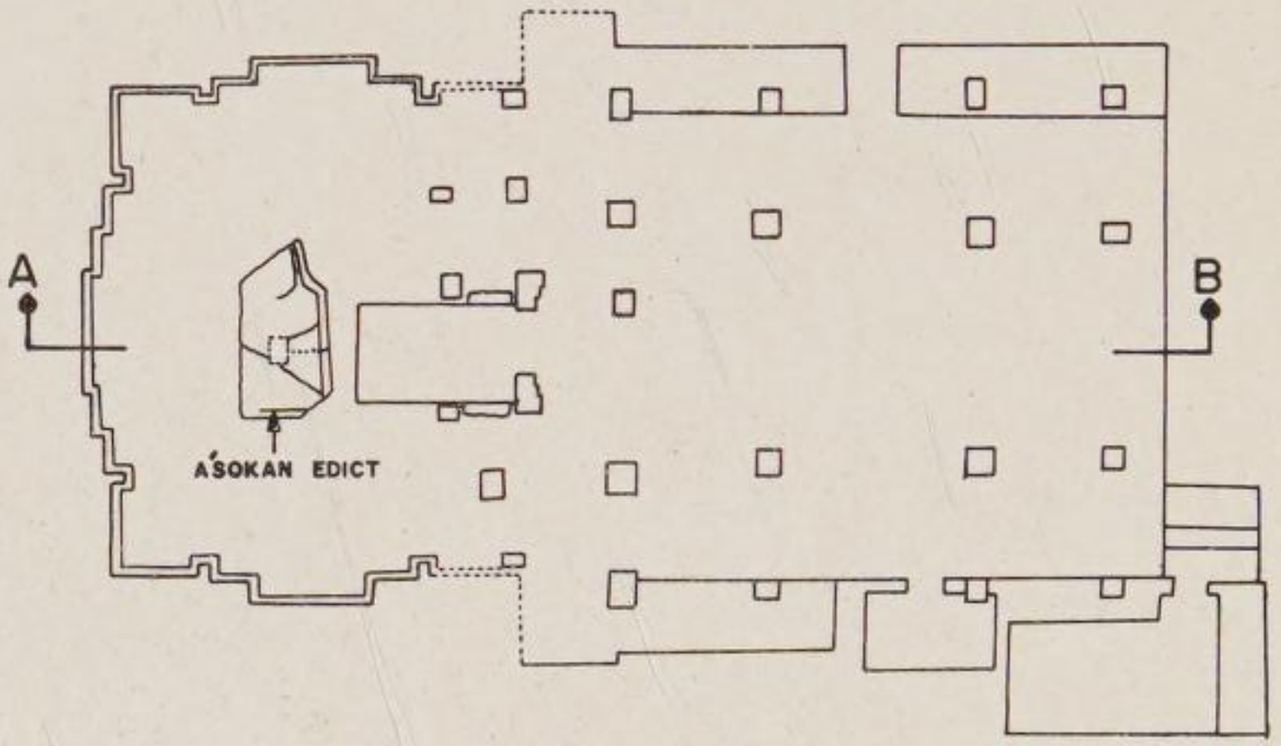


DEVI (KĀLIKĀṀBĀ) SHRINE

SCALE OF 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES



SECTION ON "AB"



PLAN

Fig 3. Chandralāṁbā Temple Devi (Kāḷikāmbā) Shrine

AŚOKAN EDICTS
IN ĀNDHRA - KARṆĀṬAKA

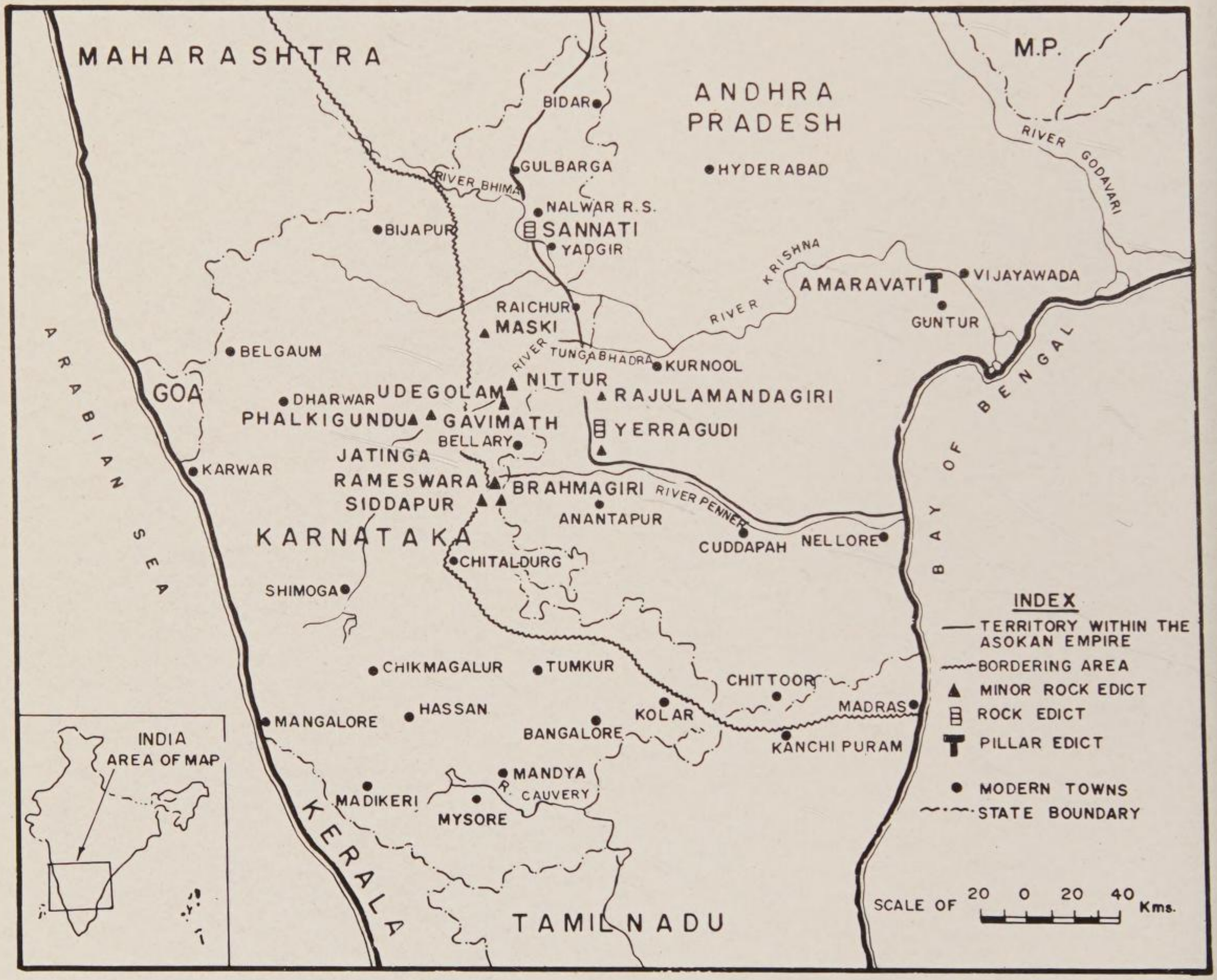
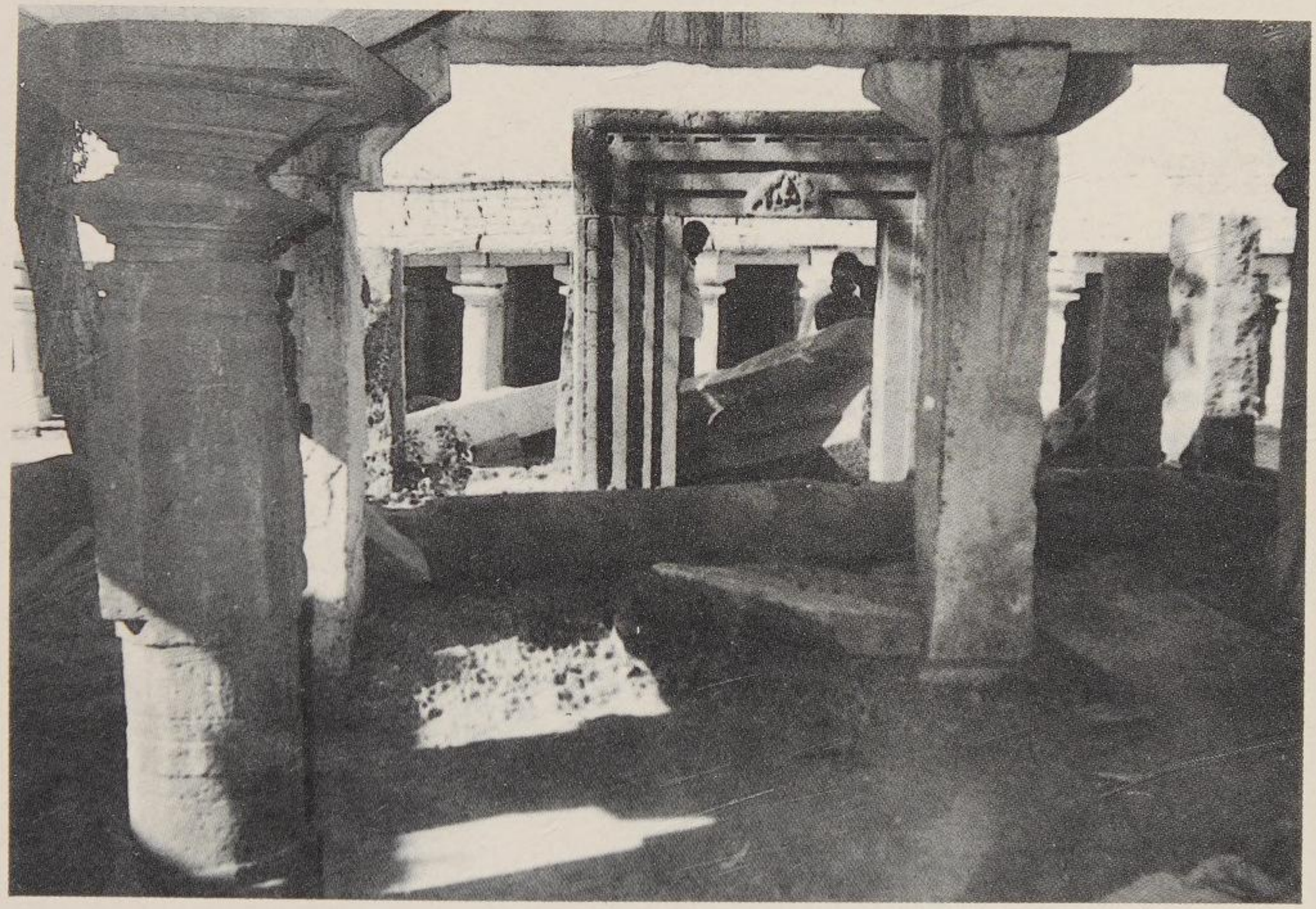
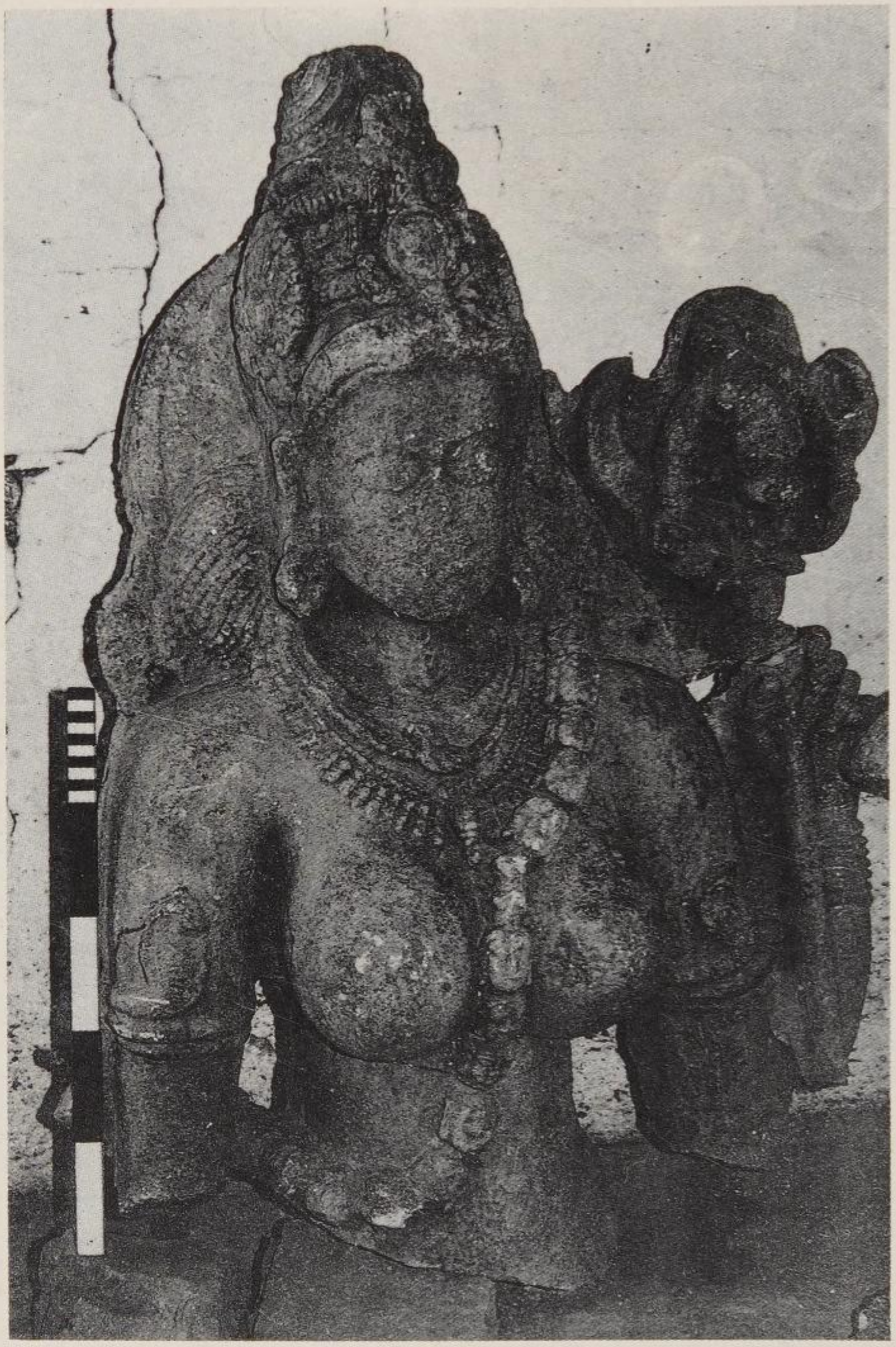


Fig. 4. Aśokan Edicts in Andhra-Karṇāṭaka

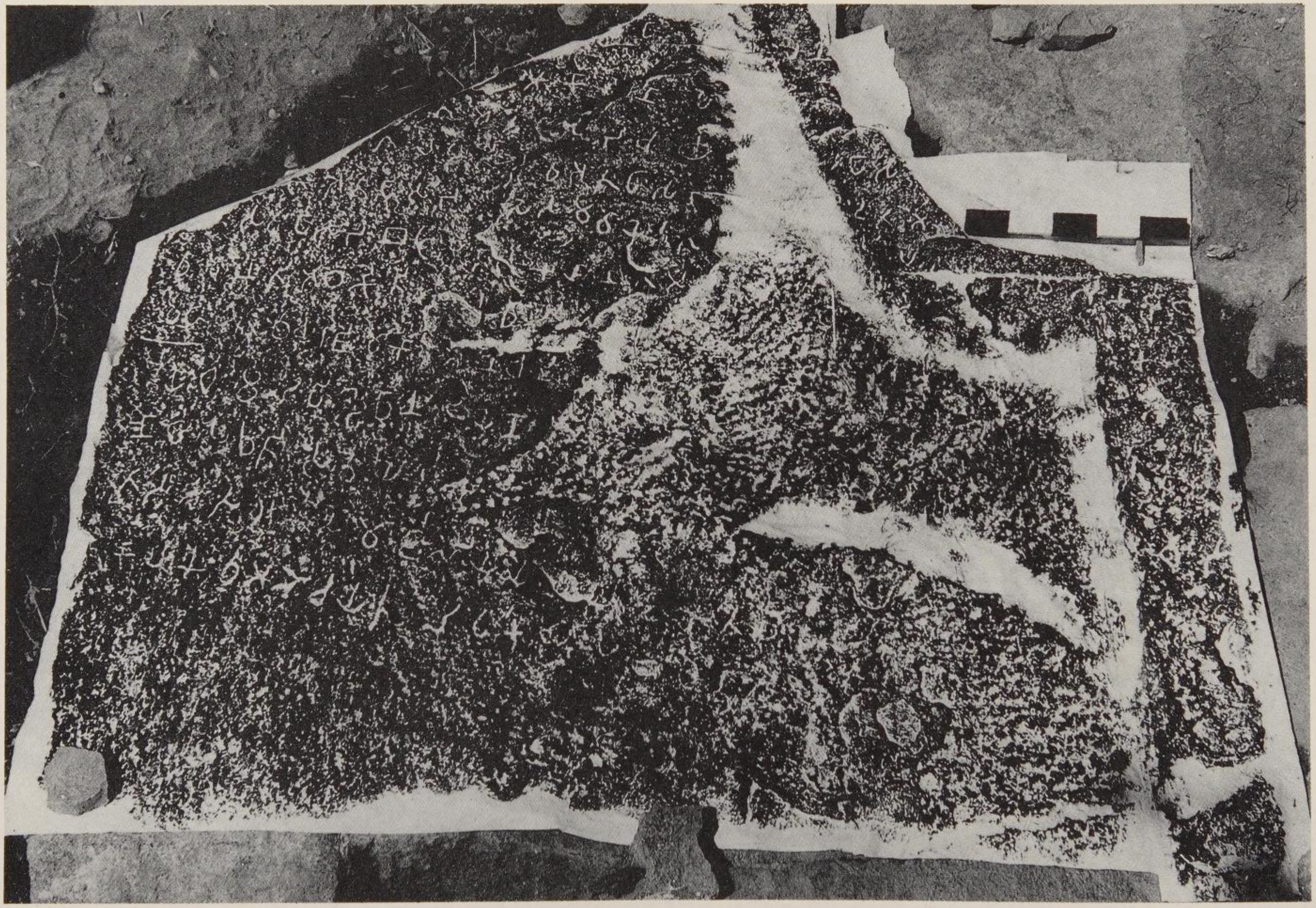


Pl. 1. Sannati, Devī Shrine



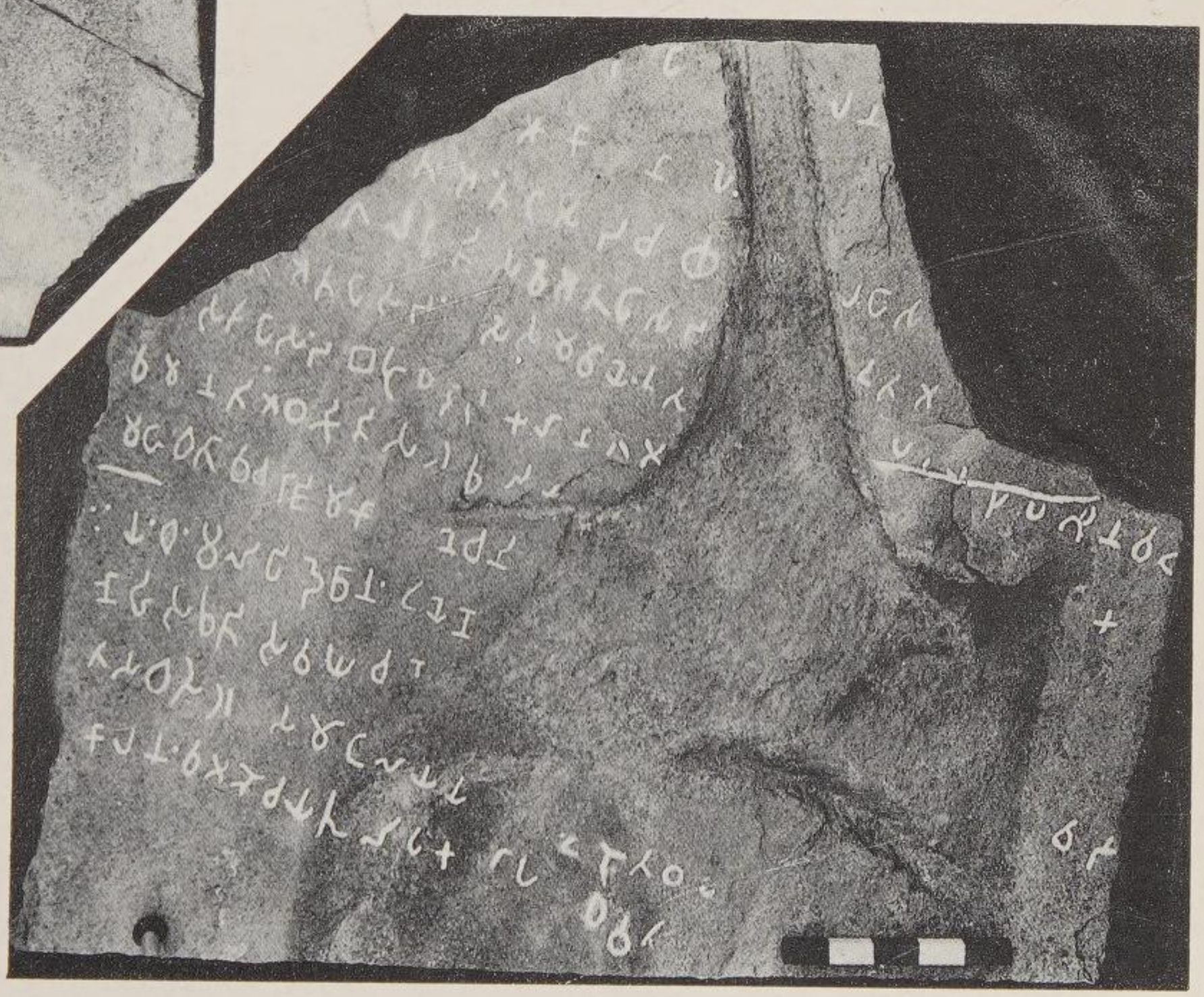
Pl. 2. Sannati, Devī image (broken) Upper part

Pl. 3. Sannati, Devī image, Lower part (Chāmuṇḍi)
Circa 8th-9th Century A.D.

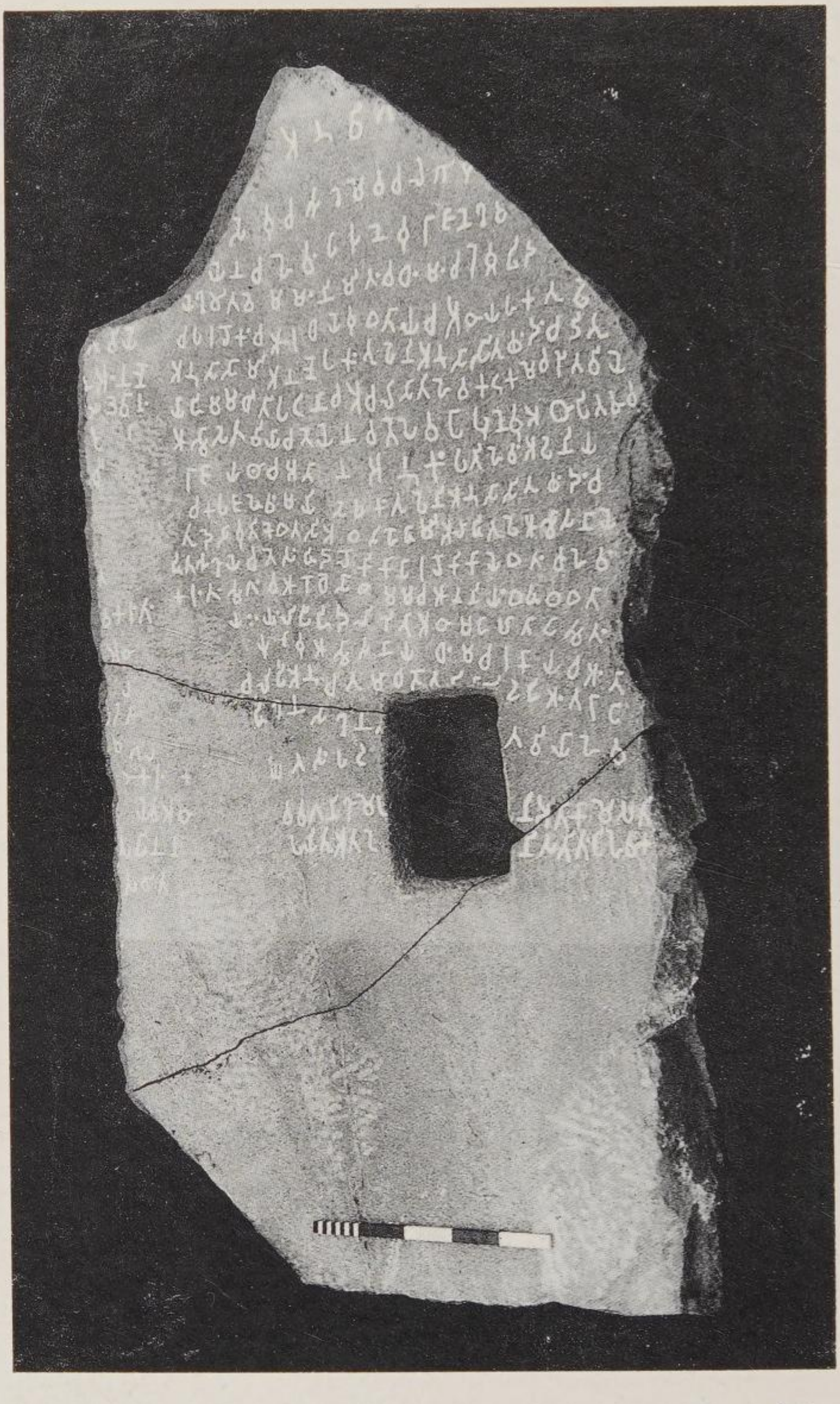


Pl. 4. Sannati, Aśokan Edicts XII and XIV. Estampage

Pl. 5. Sannati, Slab Face-A, Edicts XII and XIV

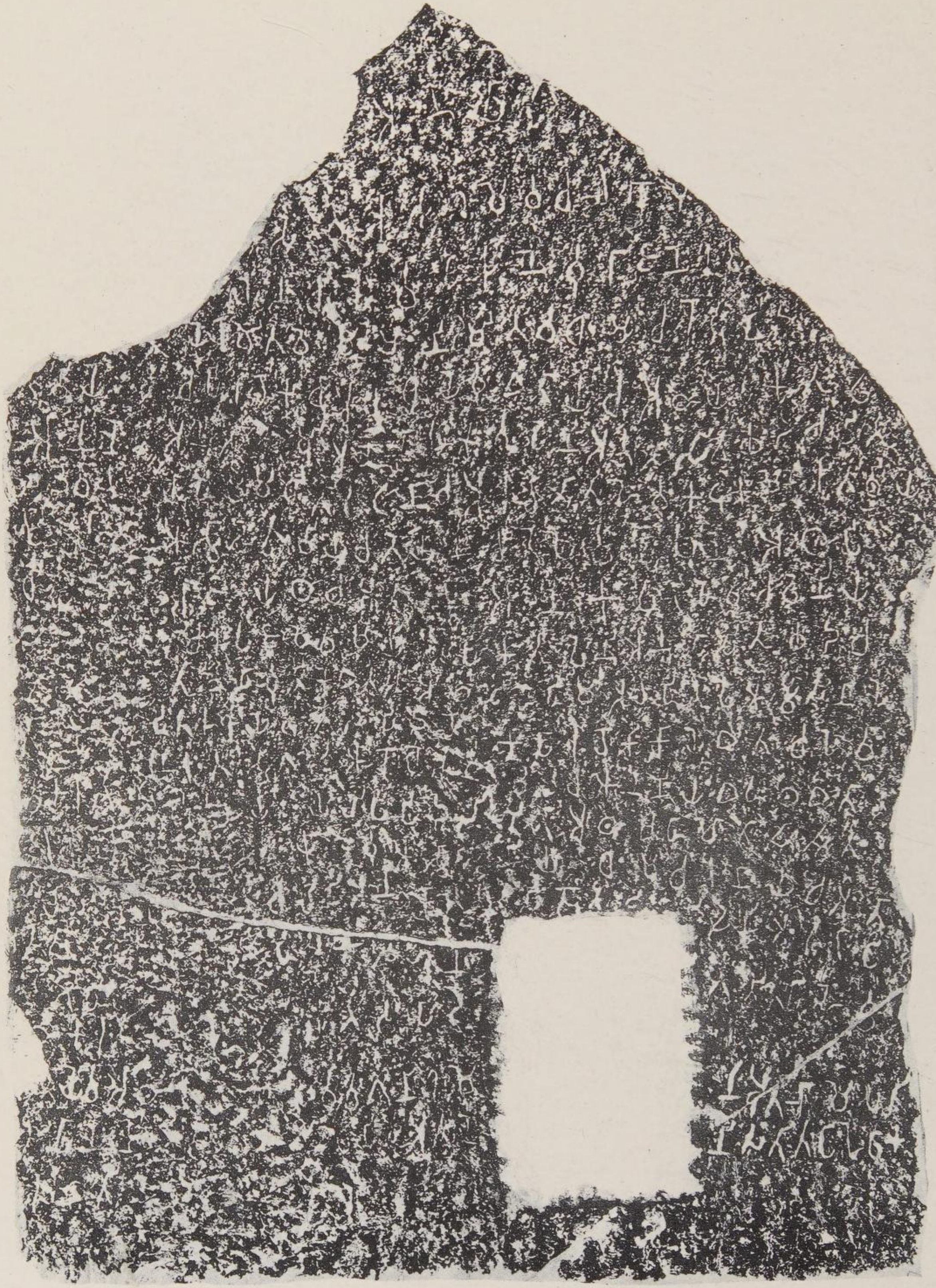


Pl. 6. Closer view of Edicts XII and XIV



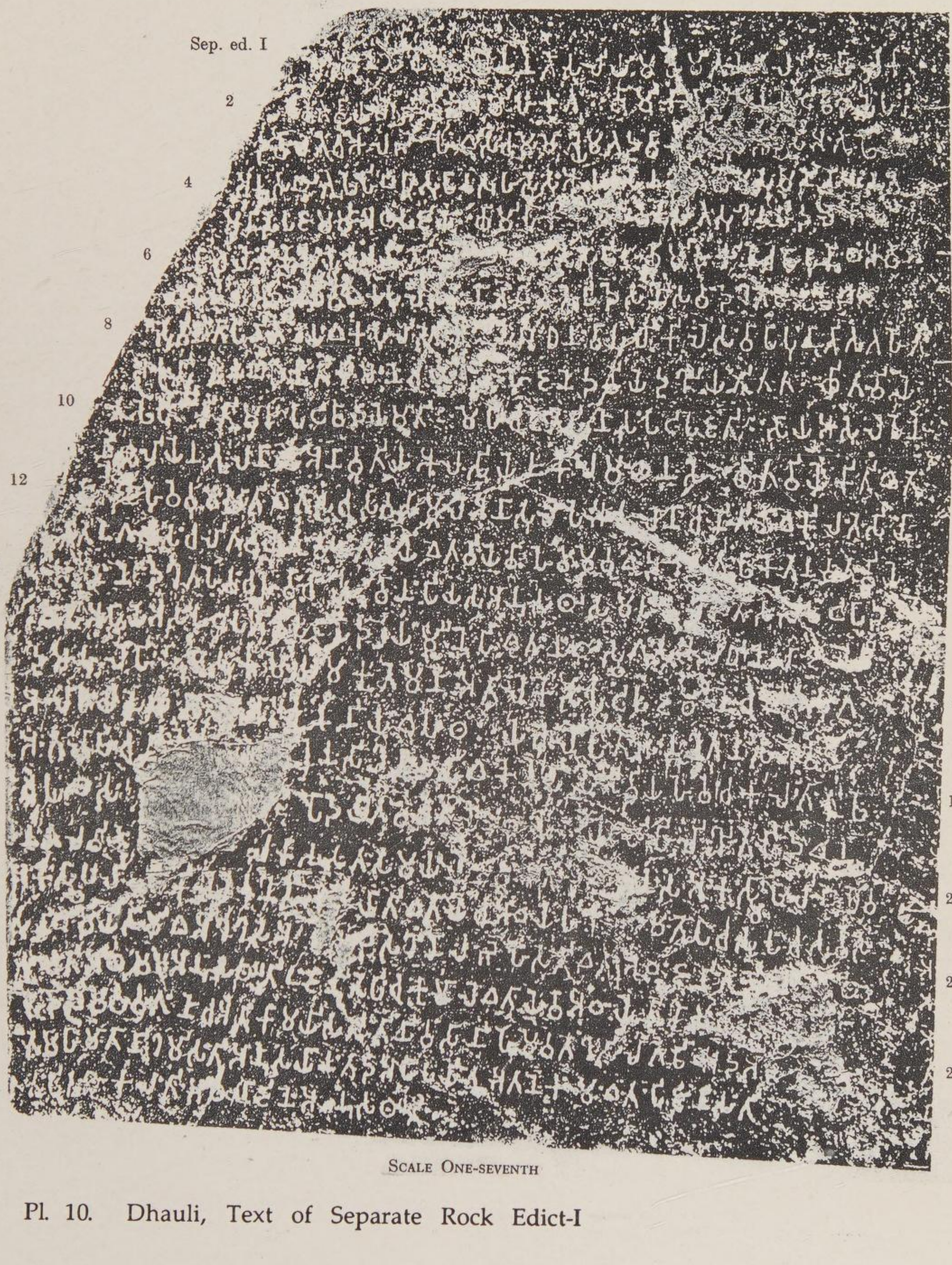
Pl. 7. Sannati, Part of Pīṭha slab (broken) with Aśokan Edicts Face-B. Special Edicts I and II

Pl. 8. Sannati, Aśokan Edicts Face-A, Estampage Aśokan Edicts XII, XIV



Pl. 9. Sannati, Closer details, Face-B, Estampage Aśoka Edicts I and II

Sep. ed. I



SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

Pl. 10. Dhauli, Text of Separate Rock Edict-I

SEPARATE EDICTS

SRE-II

SRE-I

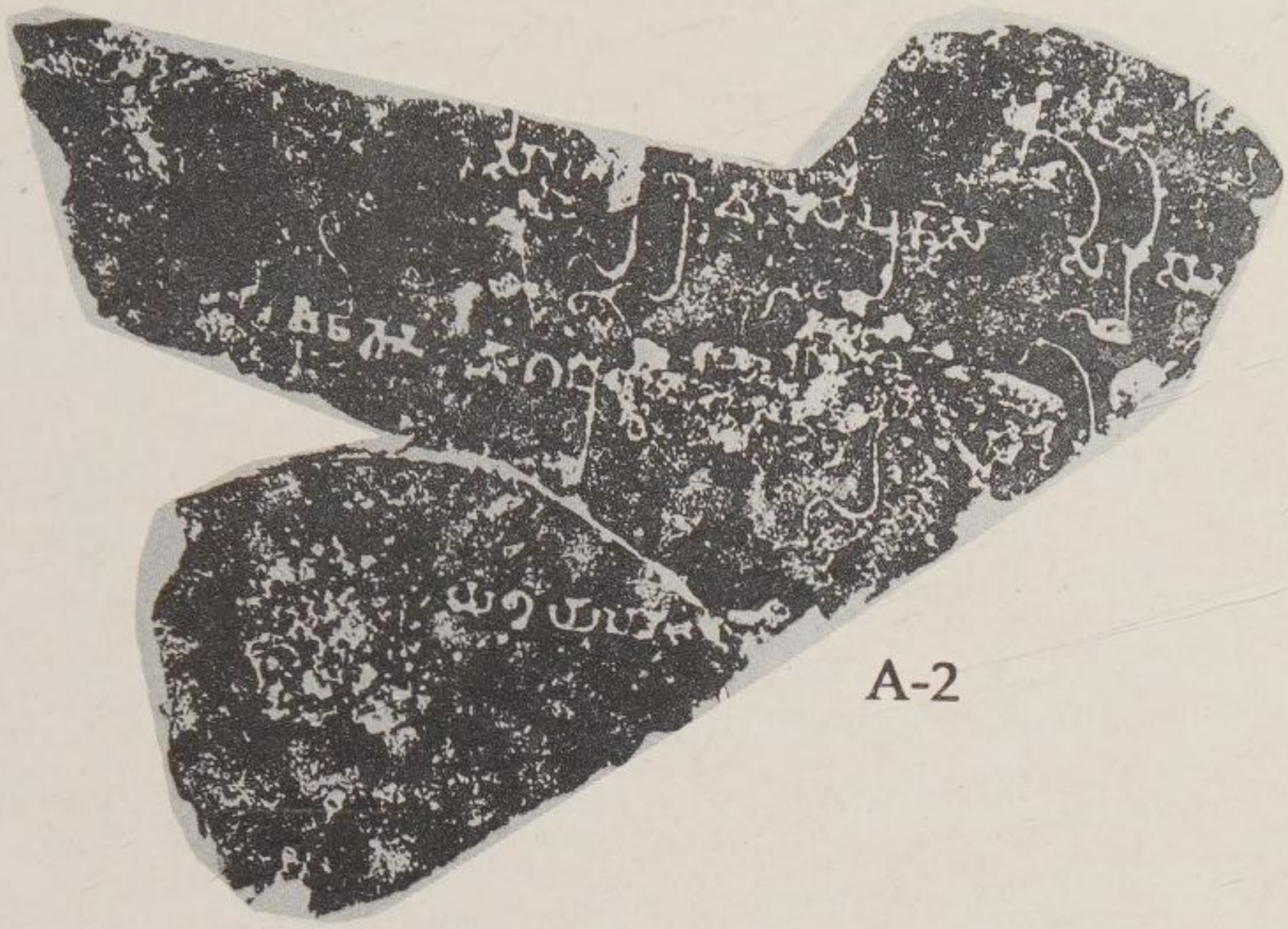
Pl. 11. Jaugada, Text of Separate Rock Edict-II

A-1(a)

A-1(b)

Pl. 12. A-1(a) and A-1(b), Find spot of the Inscribed stele of the time of Siri Sātakarṇi; Closer view of the Elephant sculpture.

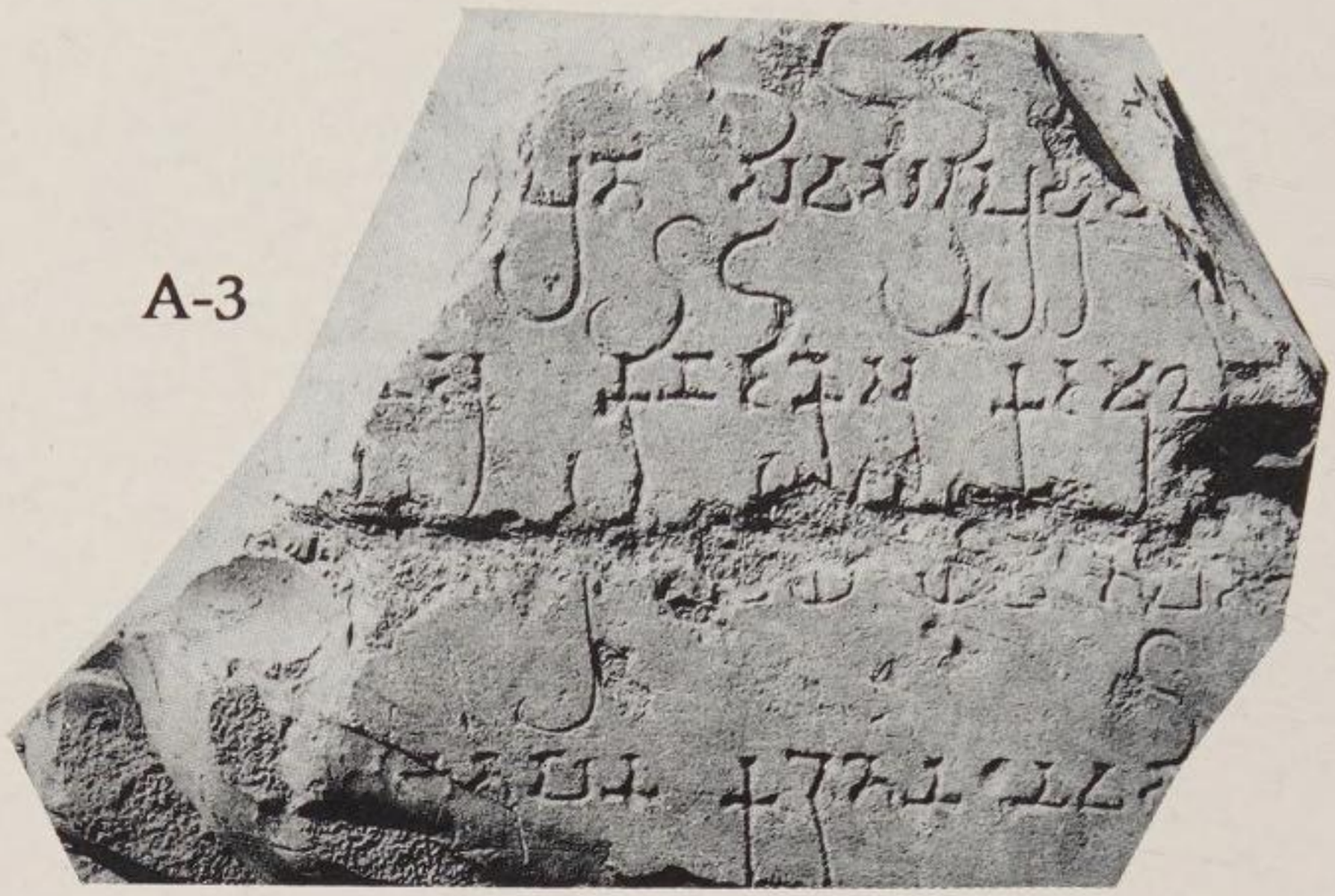
Pl. 13. A-1(c), Closer view of the Inscription and Sculpture referring to Sri Sātakarṇi.



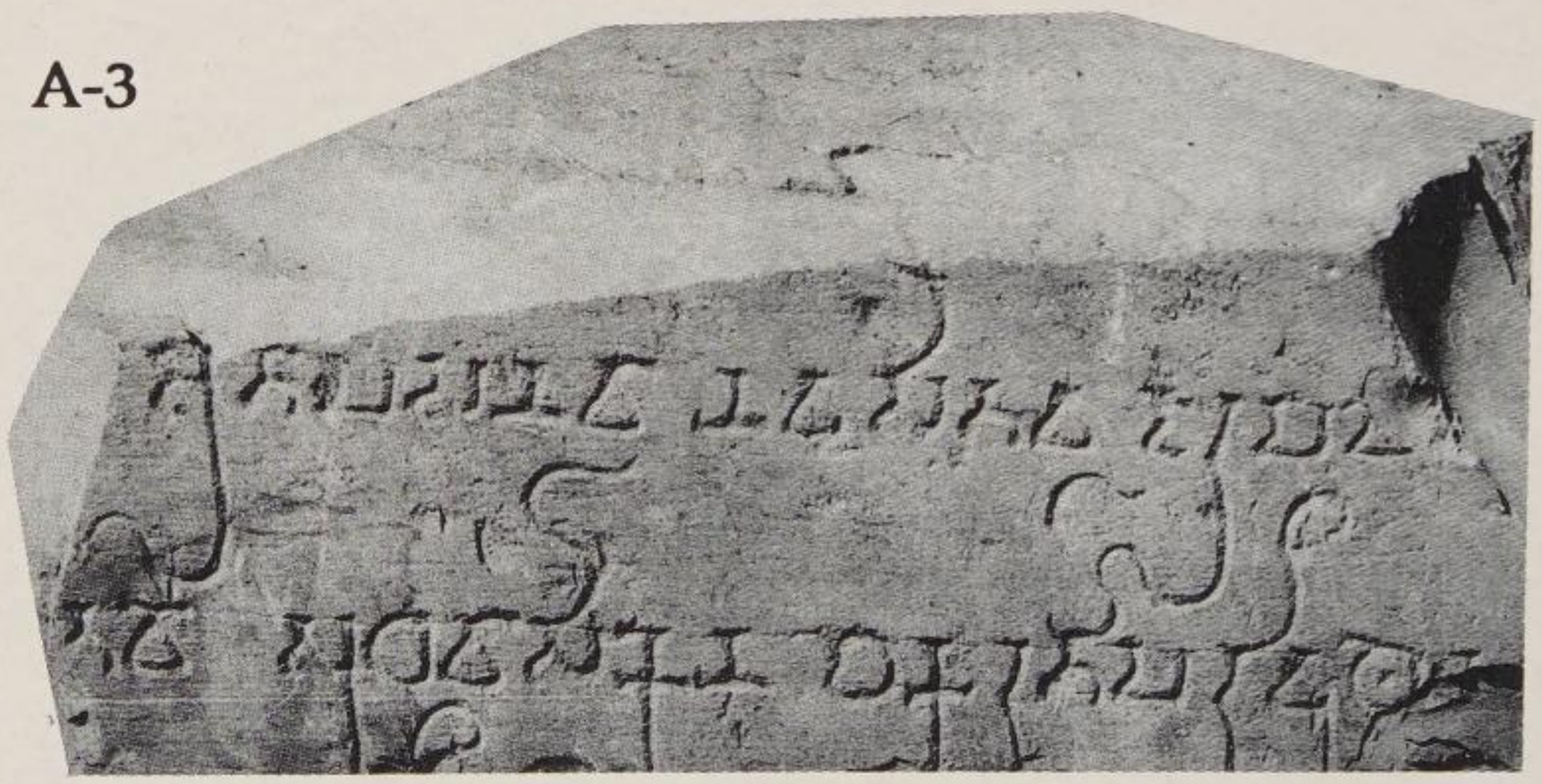
A-2

Pl. 14. A-2, Inscription of the time of Vāśishṭhīputra Sri Sātakarṇi
A-4 Inscription of Mahāsāthavāhana

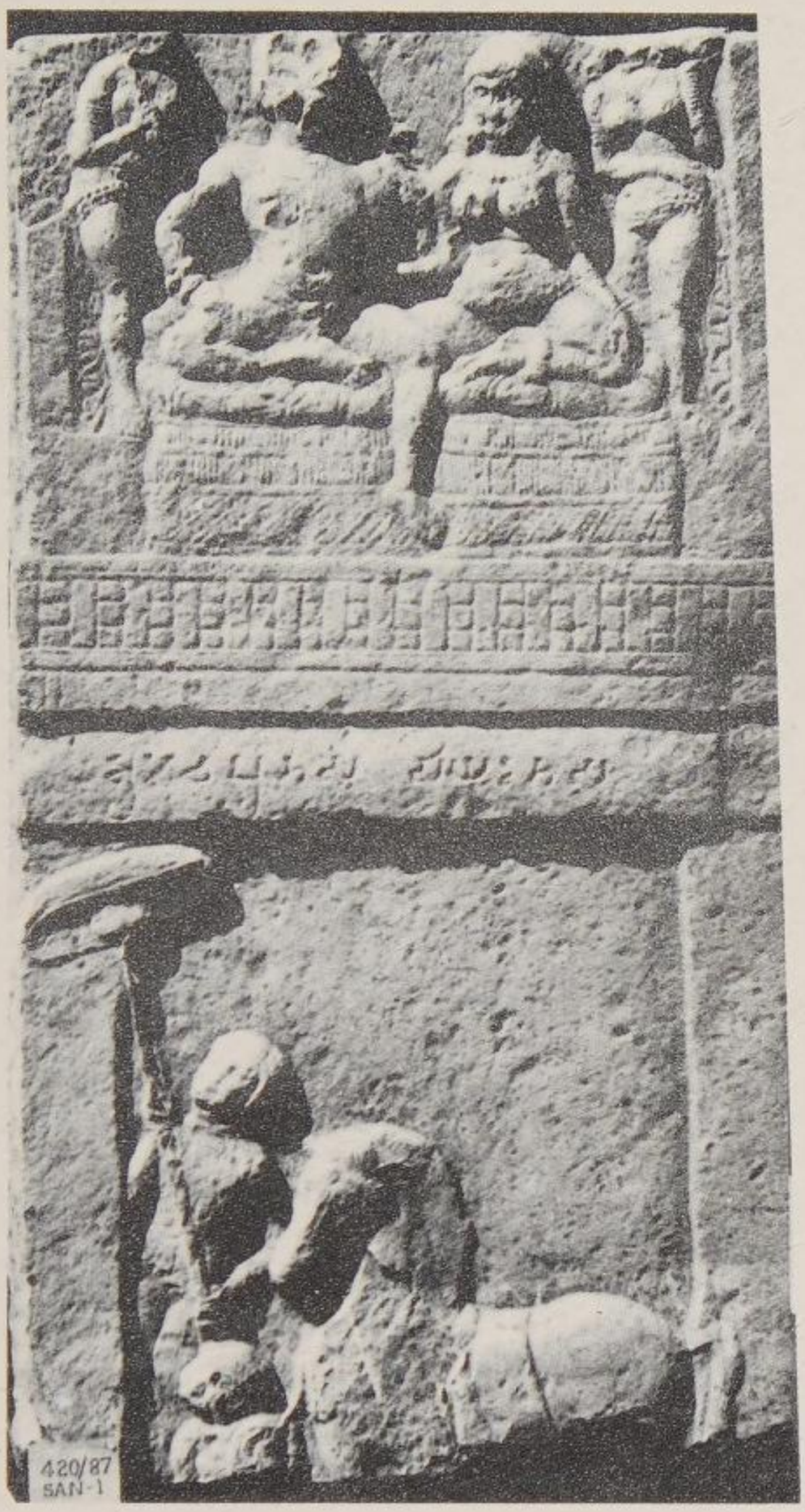
A-3



A-3

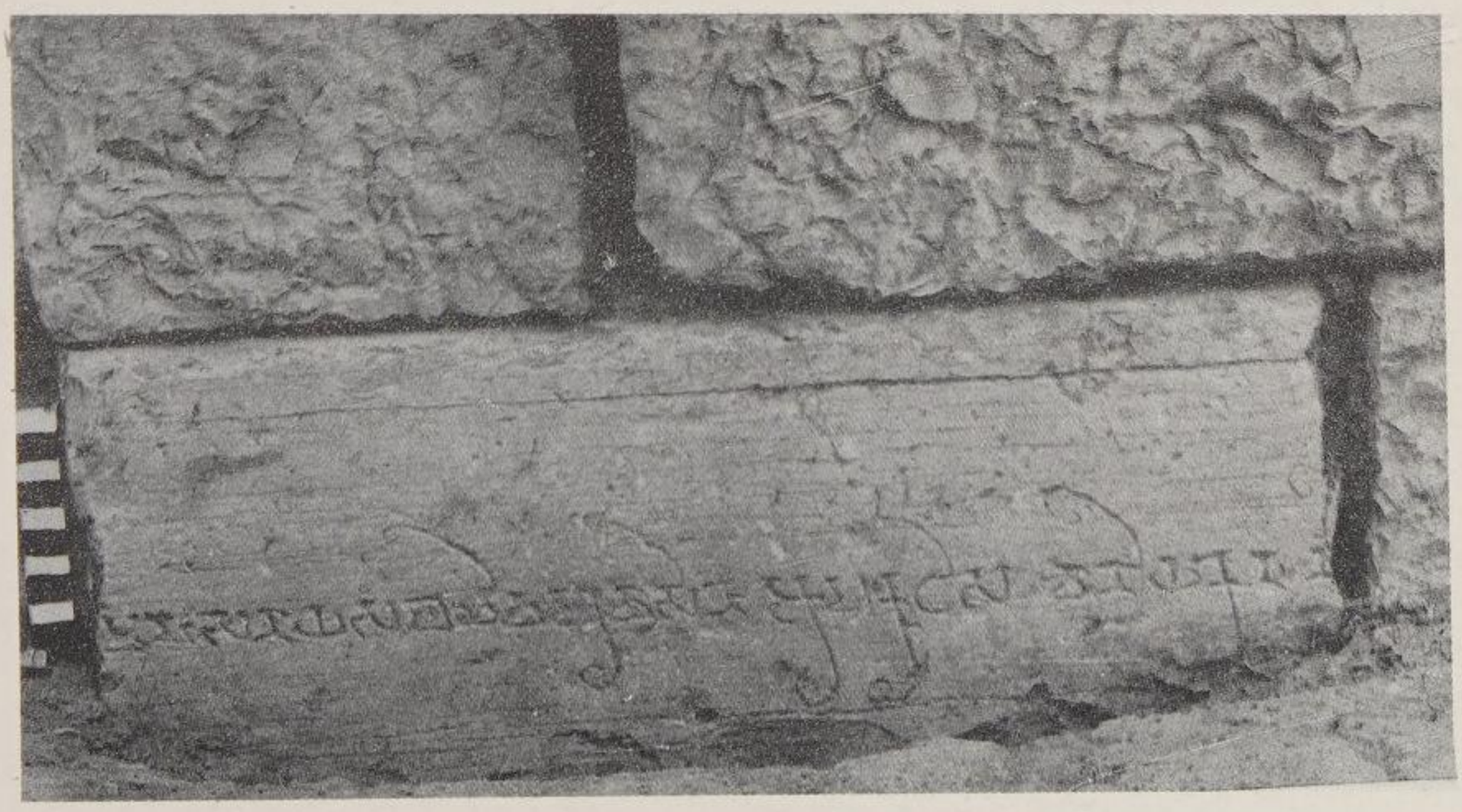


Pl. 15. A-3 Inscription of Śiva Śri Puḍumāvi



B-1

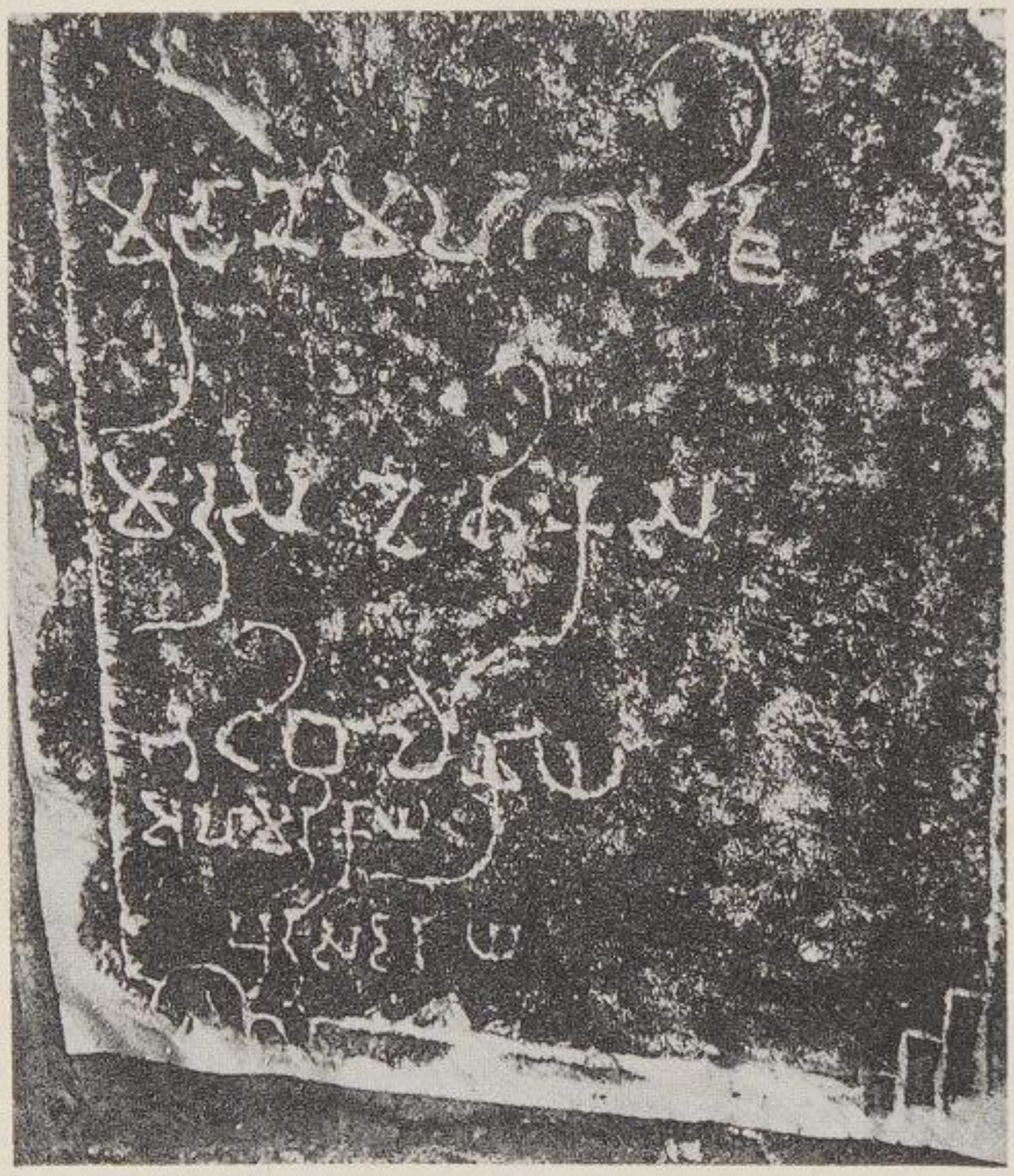
B-2



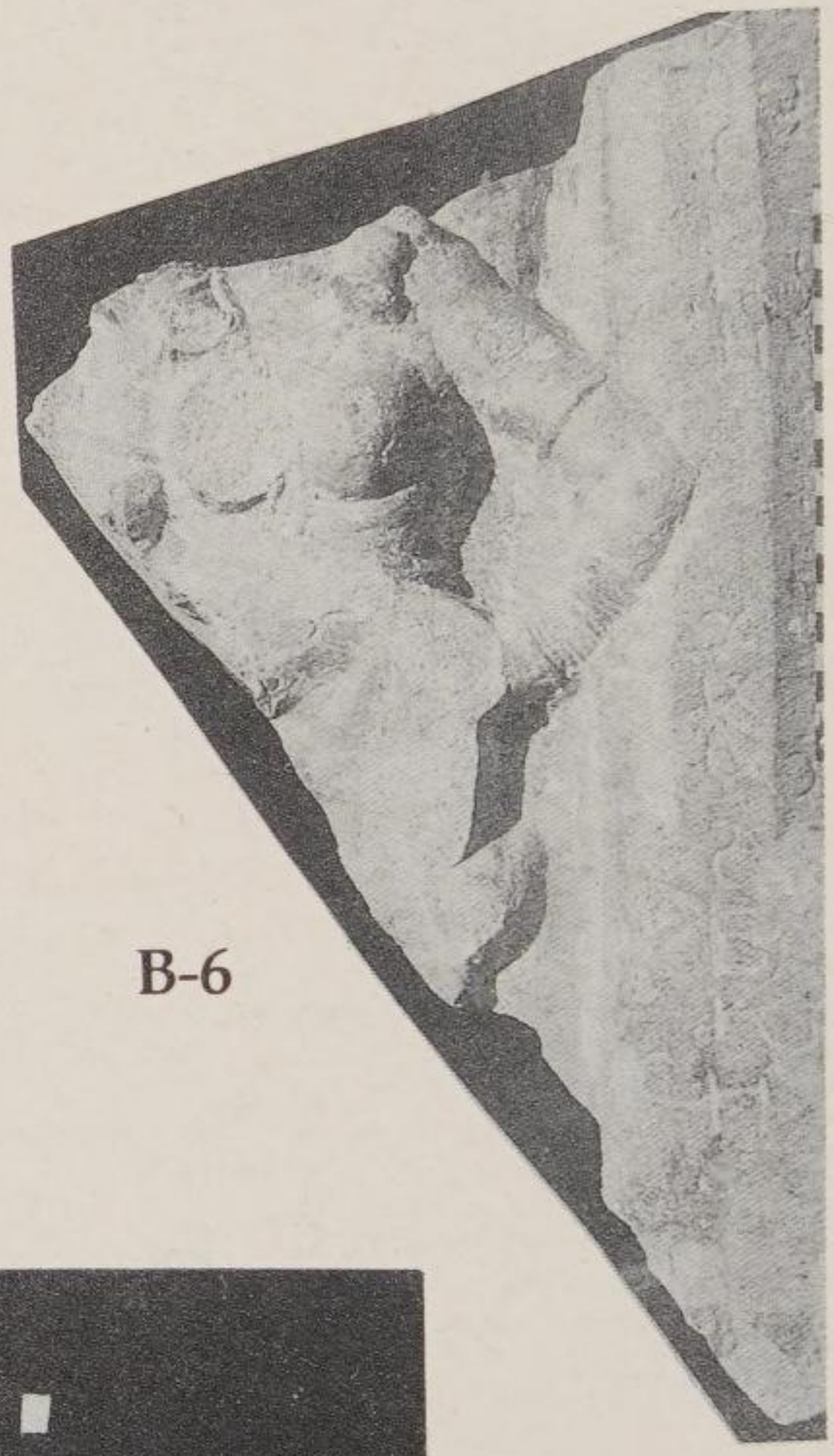
B-3

Pl. 16. B-1 to B-3 Inscription of *amātyas* and other important personages of the Royal Household

B-4



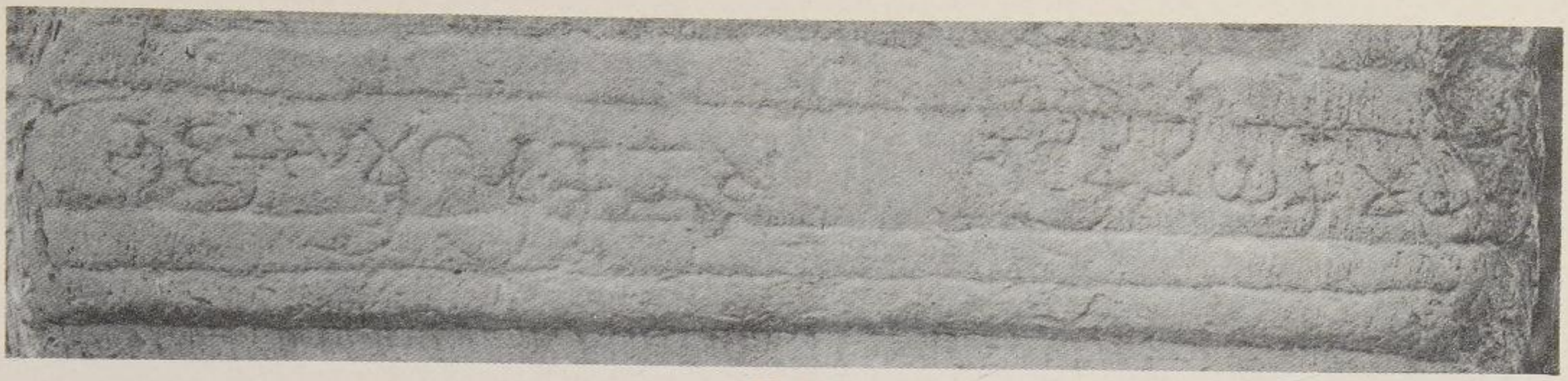
B-5



B-6

B-7

Pl.17-A. B-4 to B-7, Inscriptions of *amātyas* and other important personages (contd.)

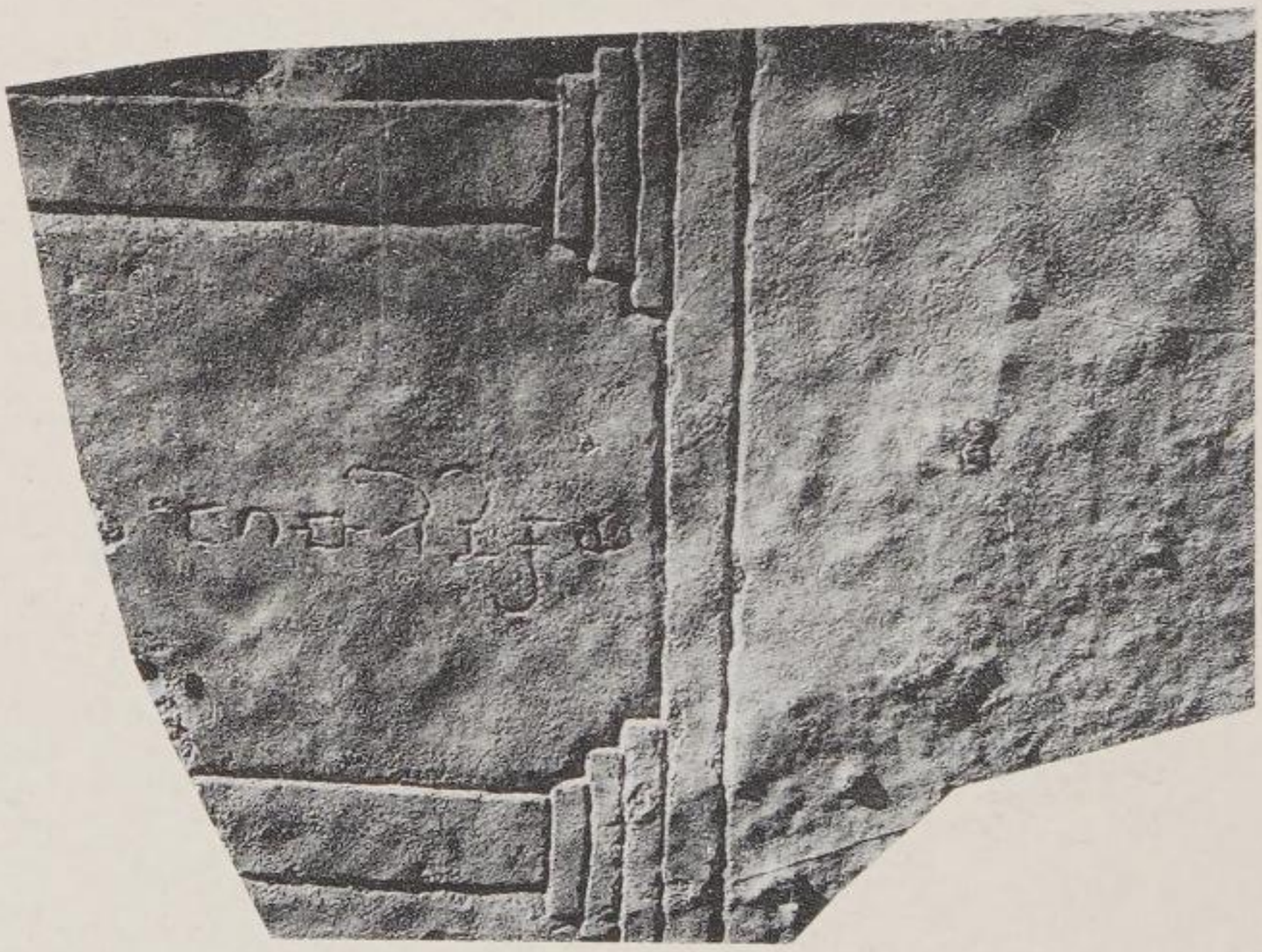


B-8

B-8

Pl.17-B. B-8, Inscribed panel with *Chaitya* windows

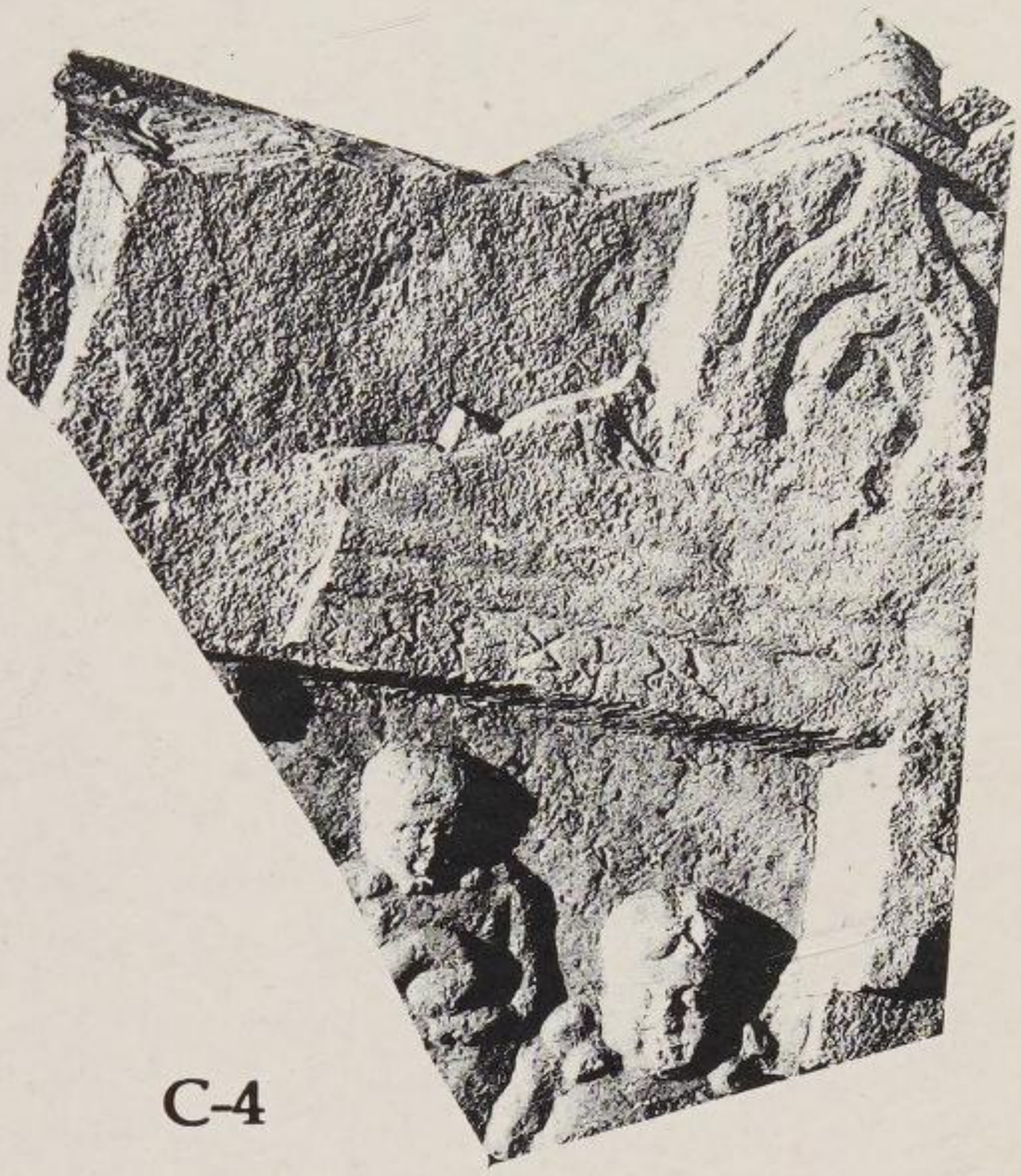
C-1



C-2

Pl. 18. C-1 and C-2 Sculptured and Inscribed Memorials

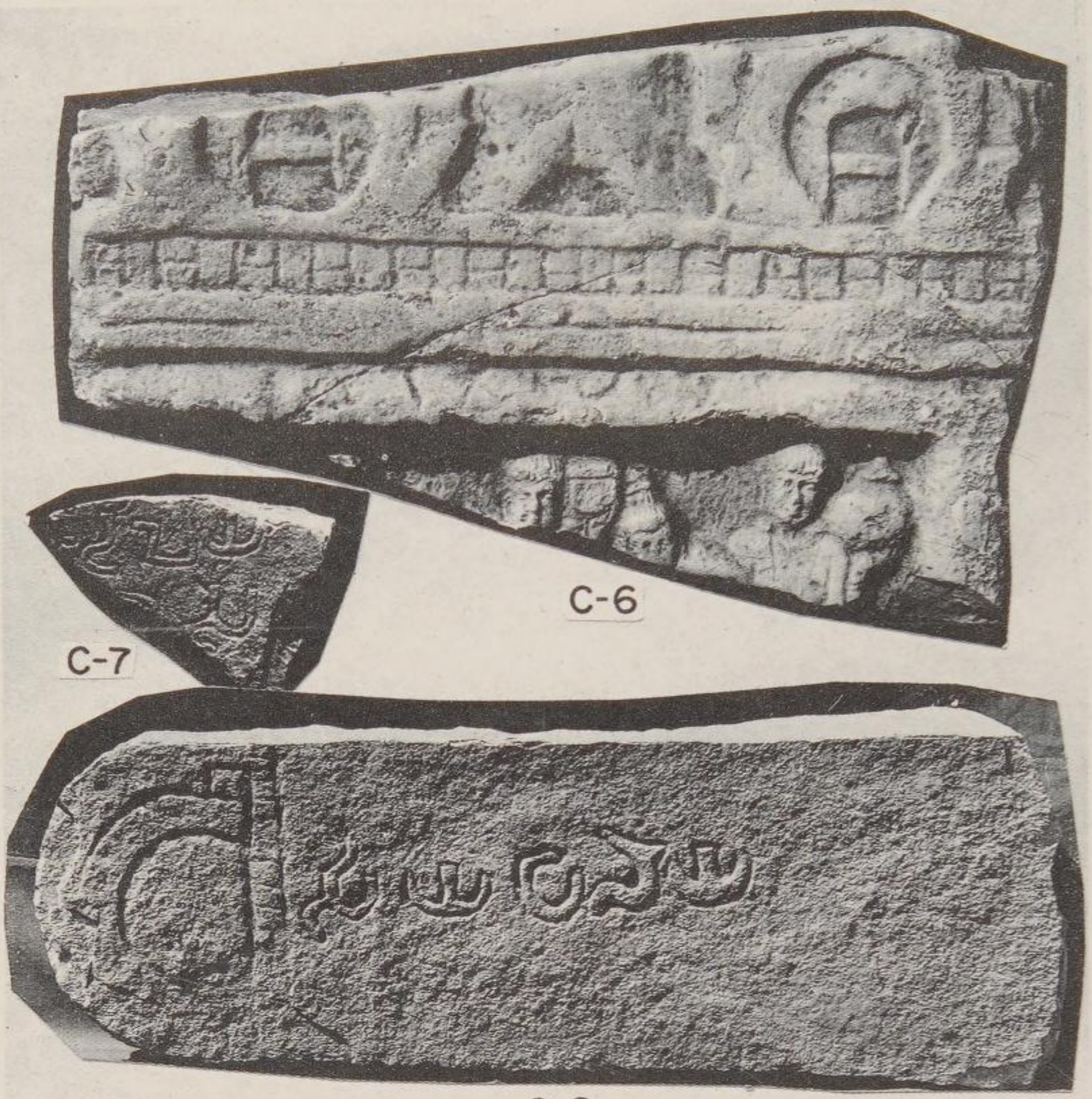
C-3



C-4

C-5

Pl. 19. C-3 to C-5, Sculptured and Inscribed Memorials (contd.)



C-6

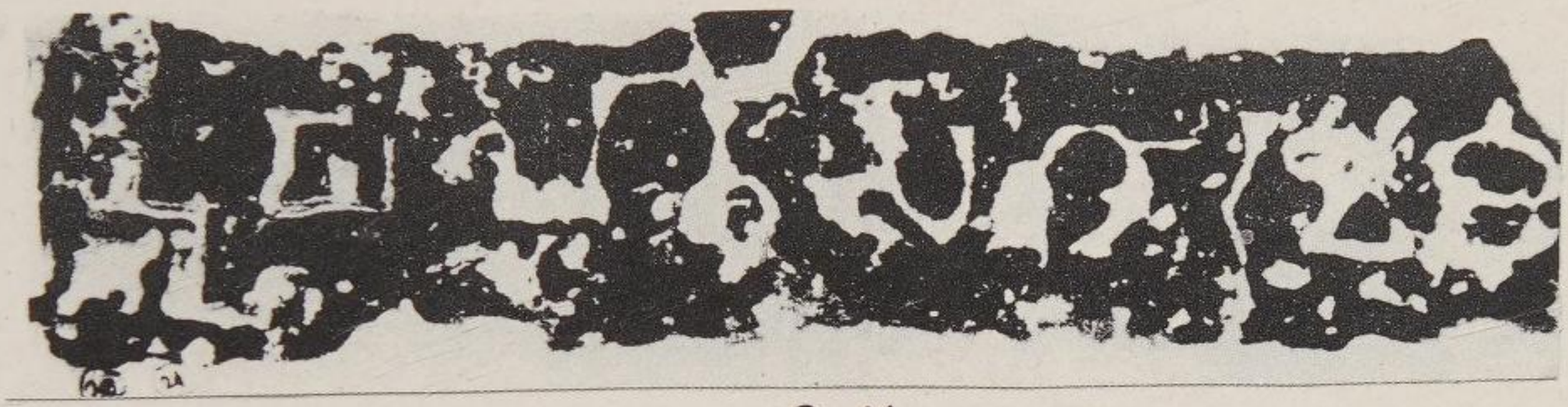
C-7

C-8

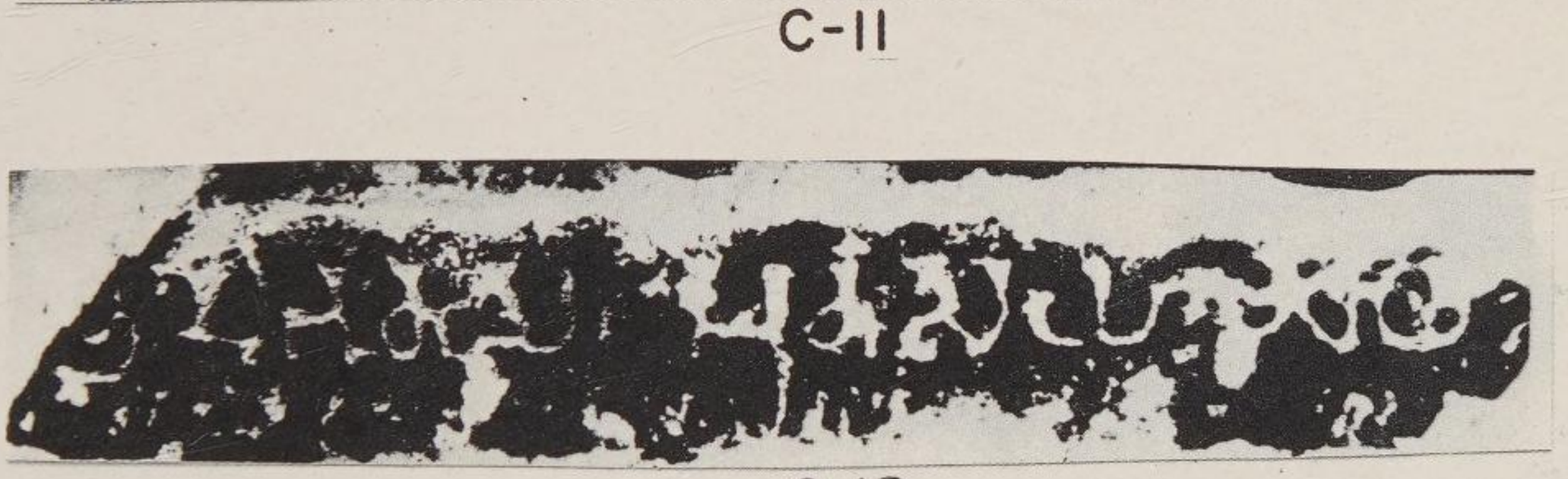
C-9

Pl. 20. C-6 to C-9, Inscribed Memorials

C-10



C-11



C-12

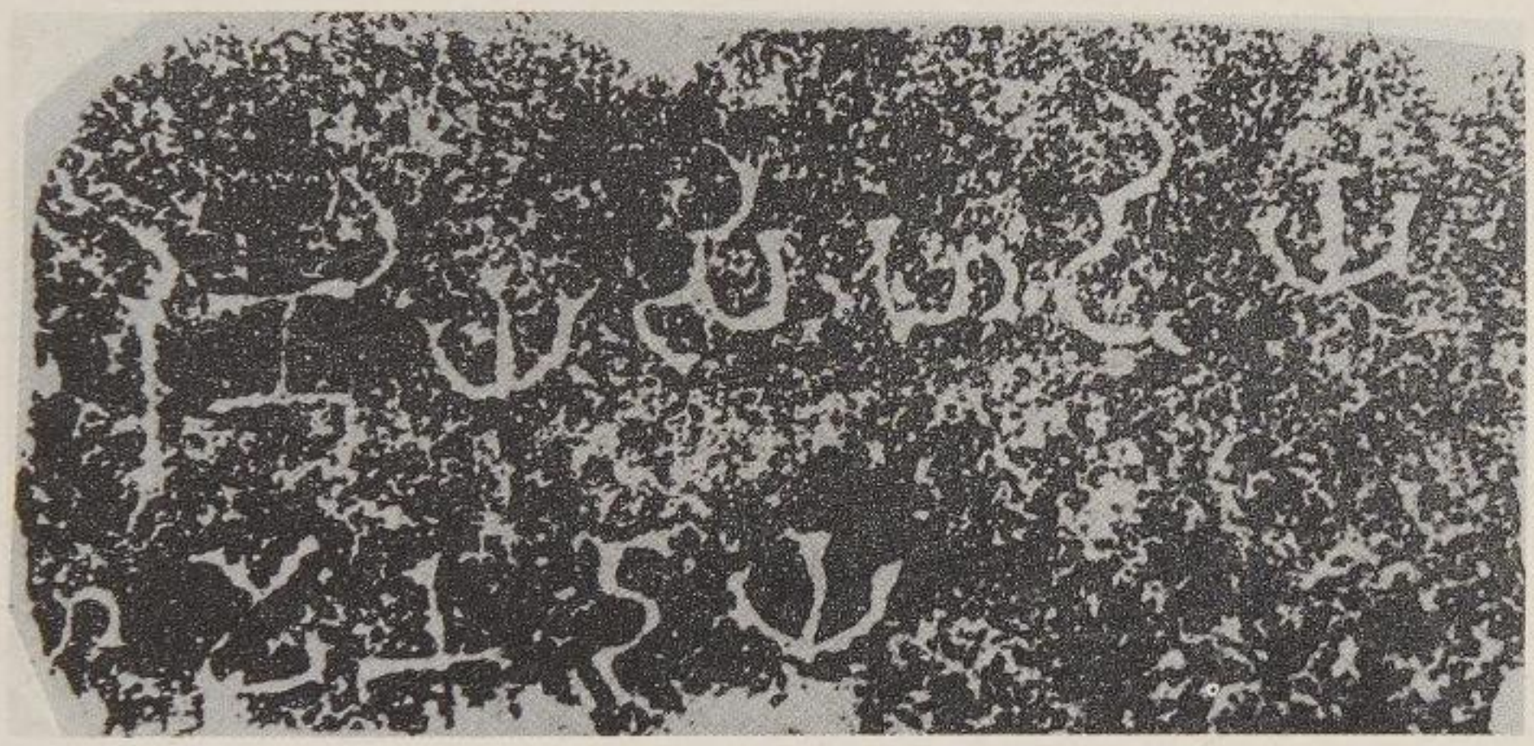
C-3

C-13

Pl.21-A. C-10 to C-13, Inscribed Memorials (contd.)

Pl.21-B. C-14, Sculptured Memorial for a couple

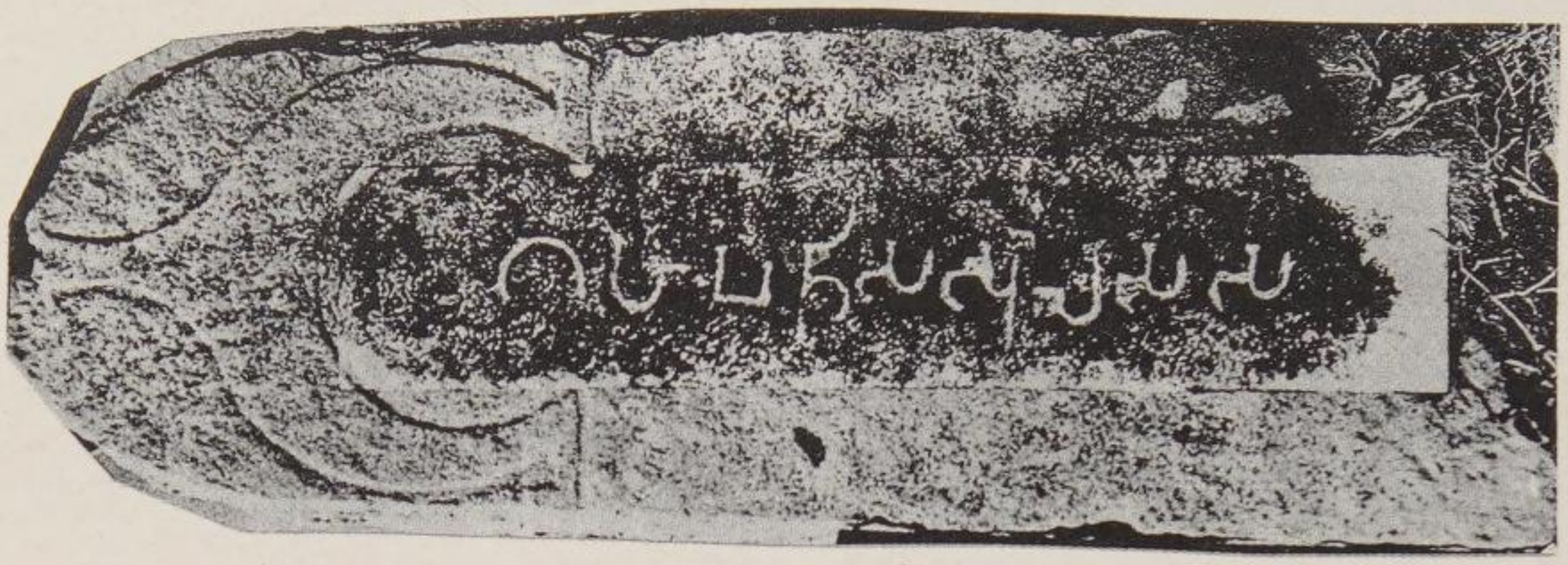
D-1



D-2

D-3

Pl.22-A. D-1 to D-3, Inscriptions referring to Noblemen, Householders etc.



D-4

D-5

D-6

D-7

Pl.22-B. D-4 to D-7, Inscriptions referring to Noblemen (contd.)

E-12

D-8(a)

Pl.23-A. E-12, Record referring to a Śramaṇa. D-8(a), A Sculptured panel with inscribed label

D-8(c)

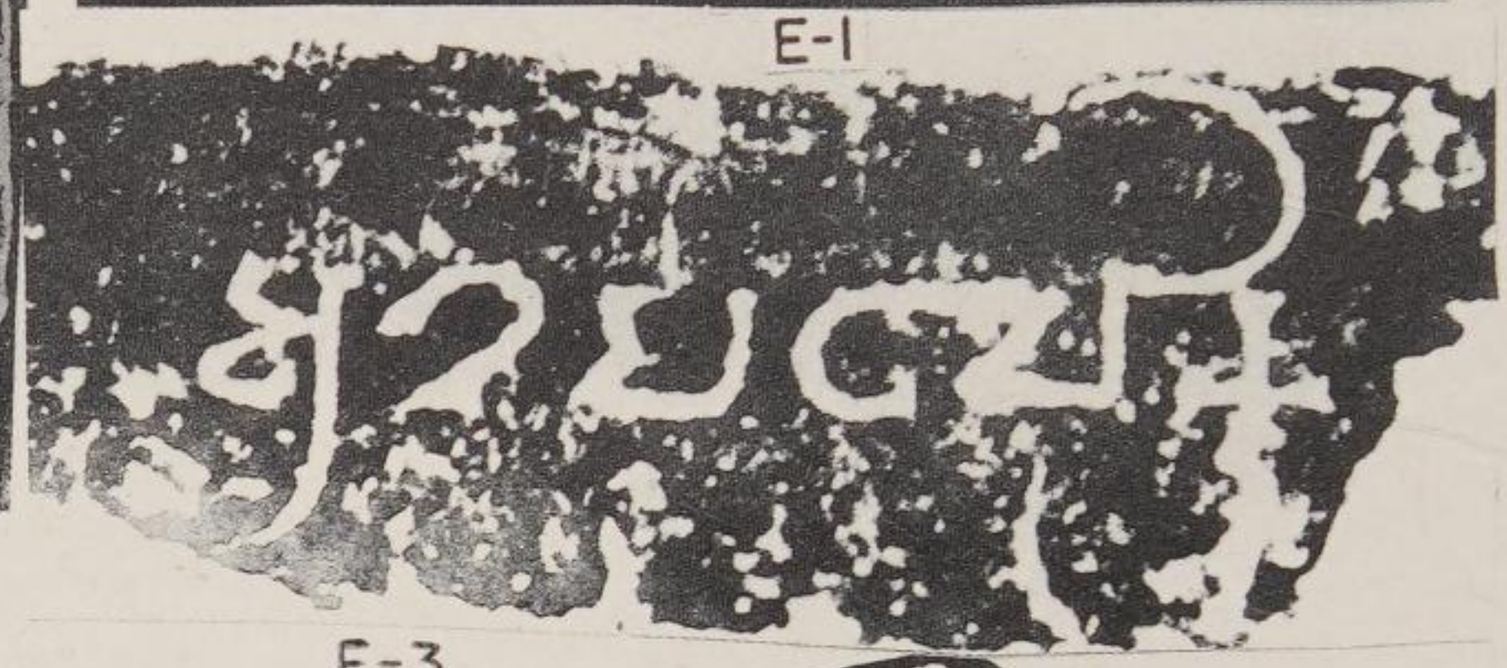
Pl.24-B. Haigunda, Buddha Image (5th Century A.D.)

D-8(c)

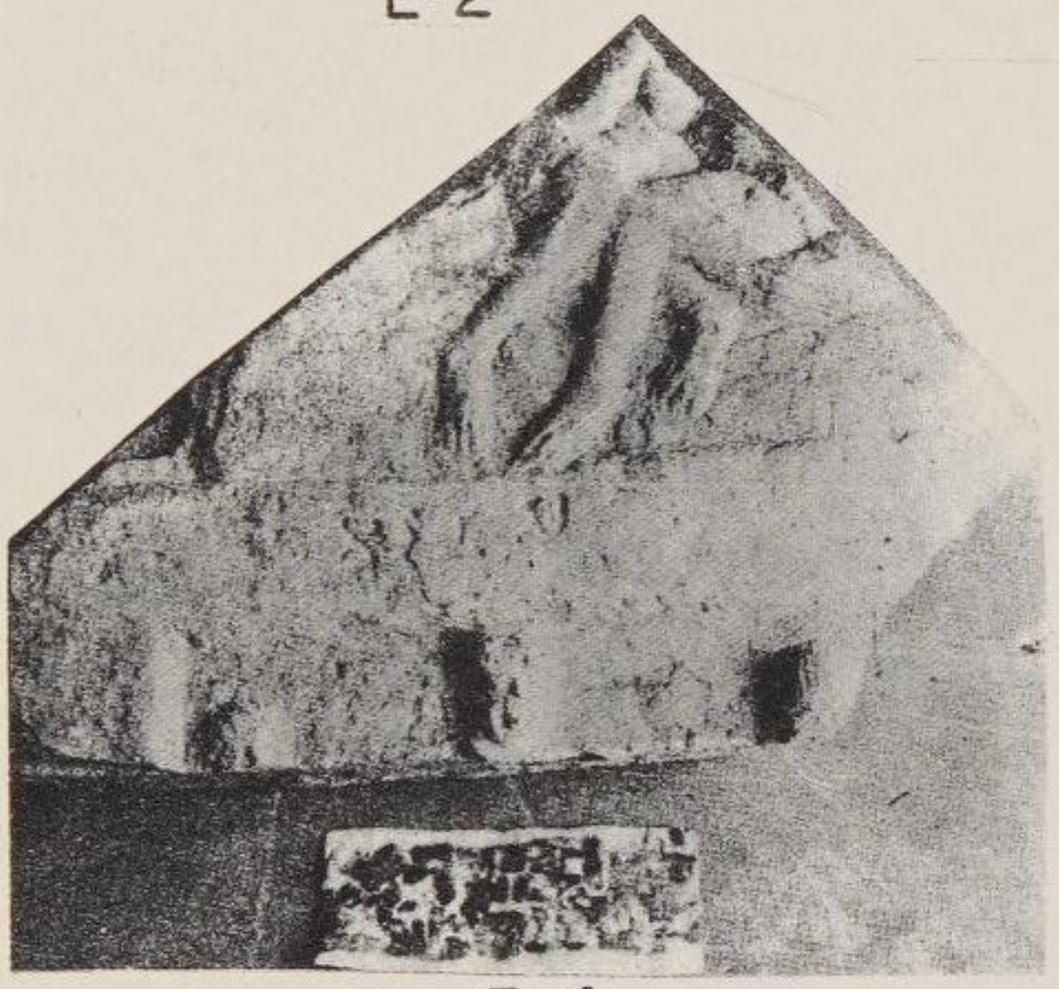
Pl.24-A. D-8(c), Inscribed-sculptured slab with Bullock Cart in the lower panel

E-1

E-2



E-3



E-4

E-5

E-6

Pl. 25. E-1 to E-6, Other Fragmentary Votive Inscriptions

E-7

E-8

E-9

E-11

E-10

Pl. 26. E-7 to E-11 Other Fragmentary, Votive Inscriptions (contd.)

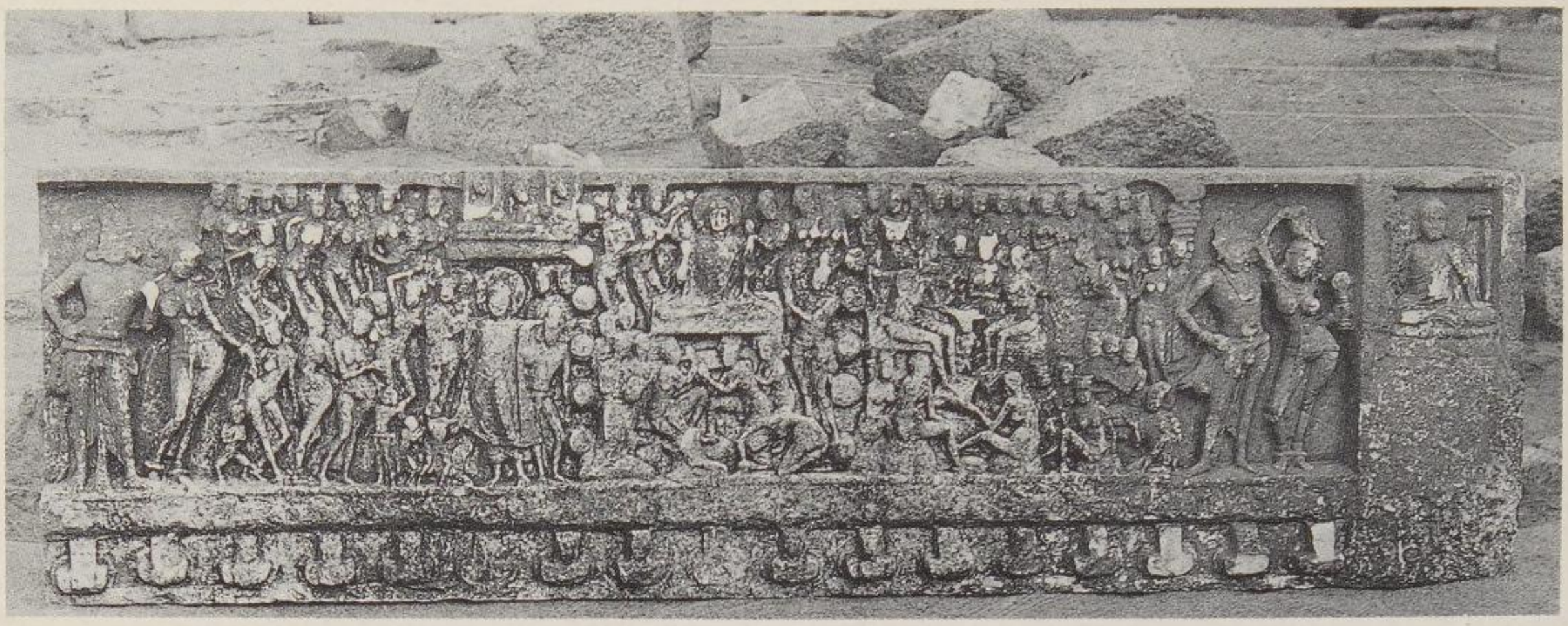
E-32

E-33

E-33

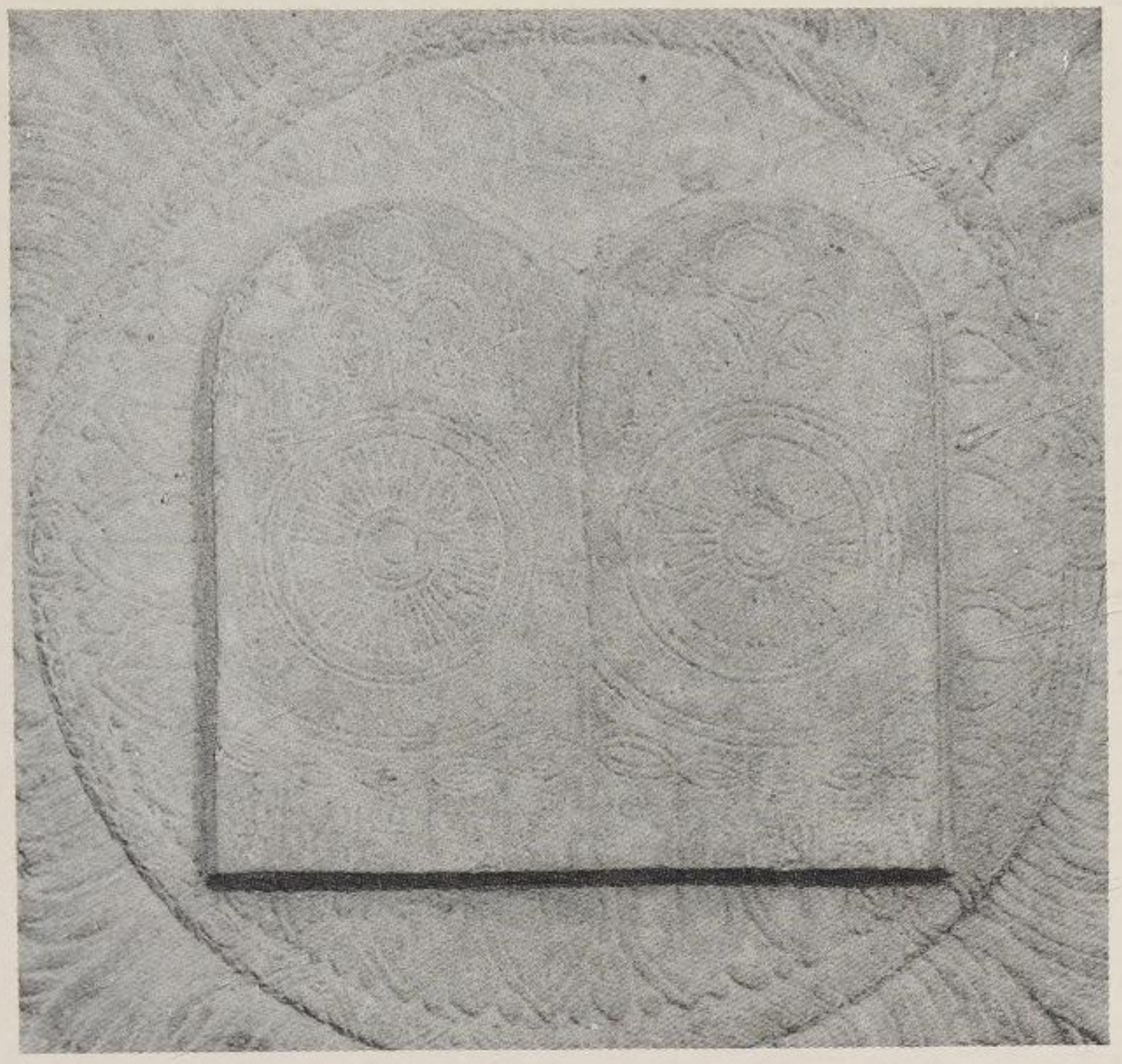
Pl. 27. E-32; Fragmentary Inscription of Amācha
E-33; Sculptured panel with inscription

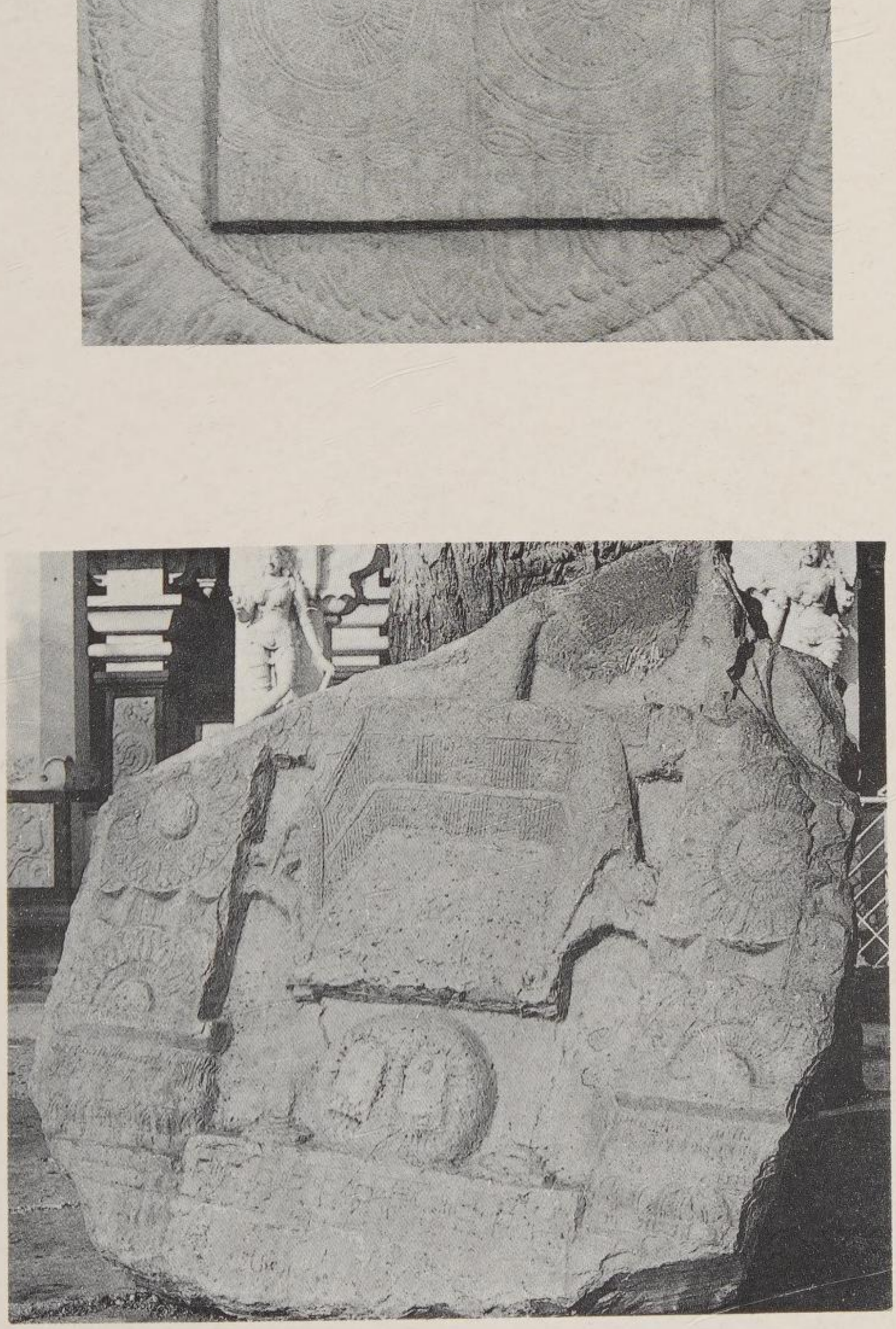
Pl. 28. Hampi, West of King's Audience Hall, Sculptured Lime stone Cornice beams piled up in the debris of late Vijayanagara times (15th-16th century A.D.)



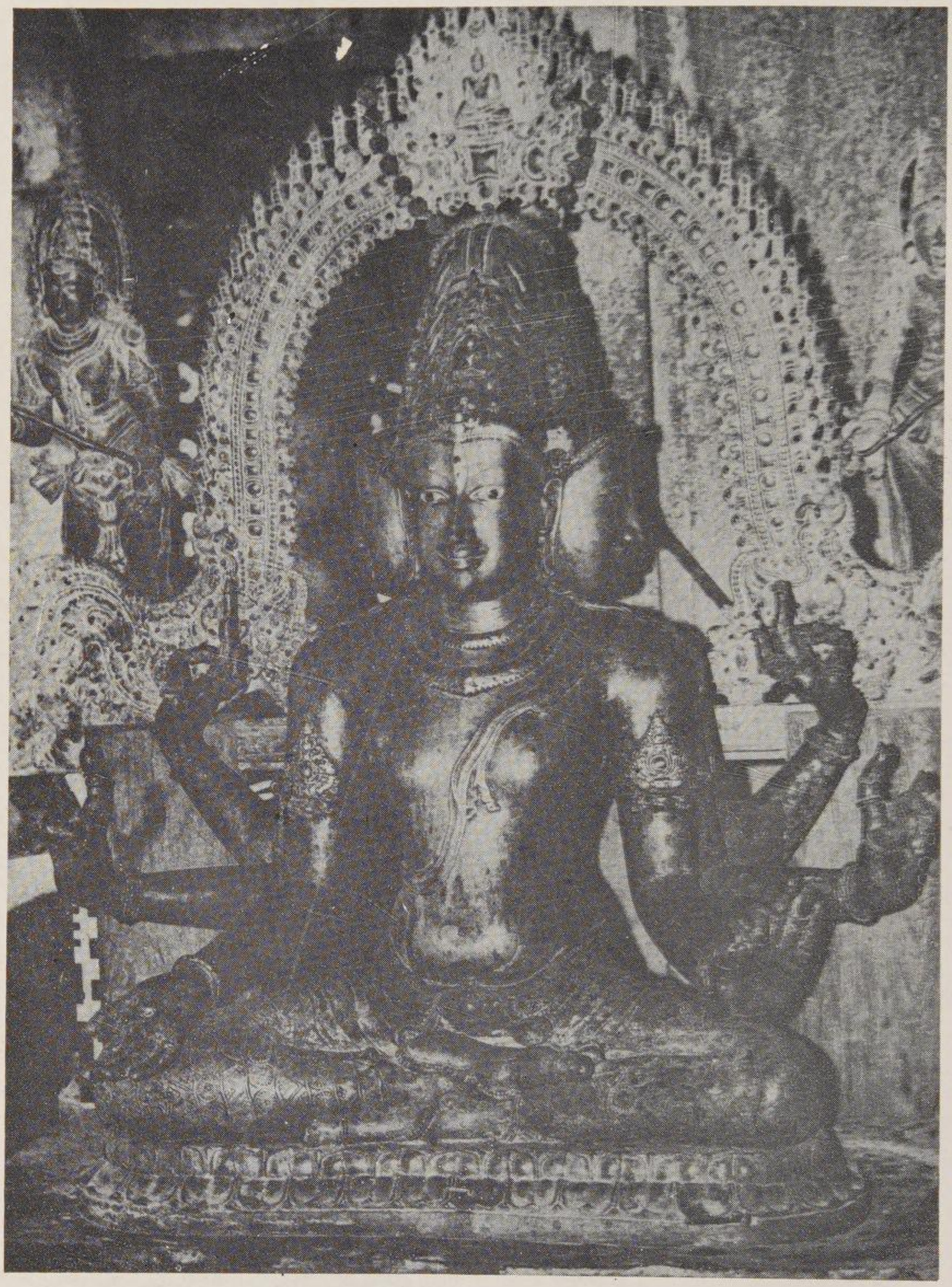
Pl. 29. Hampi, Sculptured cornice beam, Amaravati School (2nd century A.D.)

Pl. 30. Sannati, Nāga Muchalinda slab





Pl. 31. Sannati, Buddhapādas



Pl. 32 Kadri, Bronze Lokeśvara

Pl. 33. Kadri, Mañju Śri

Pl. 34. Kadri, Buddha

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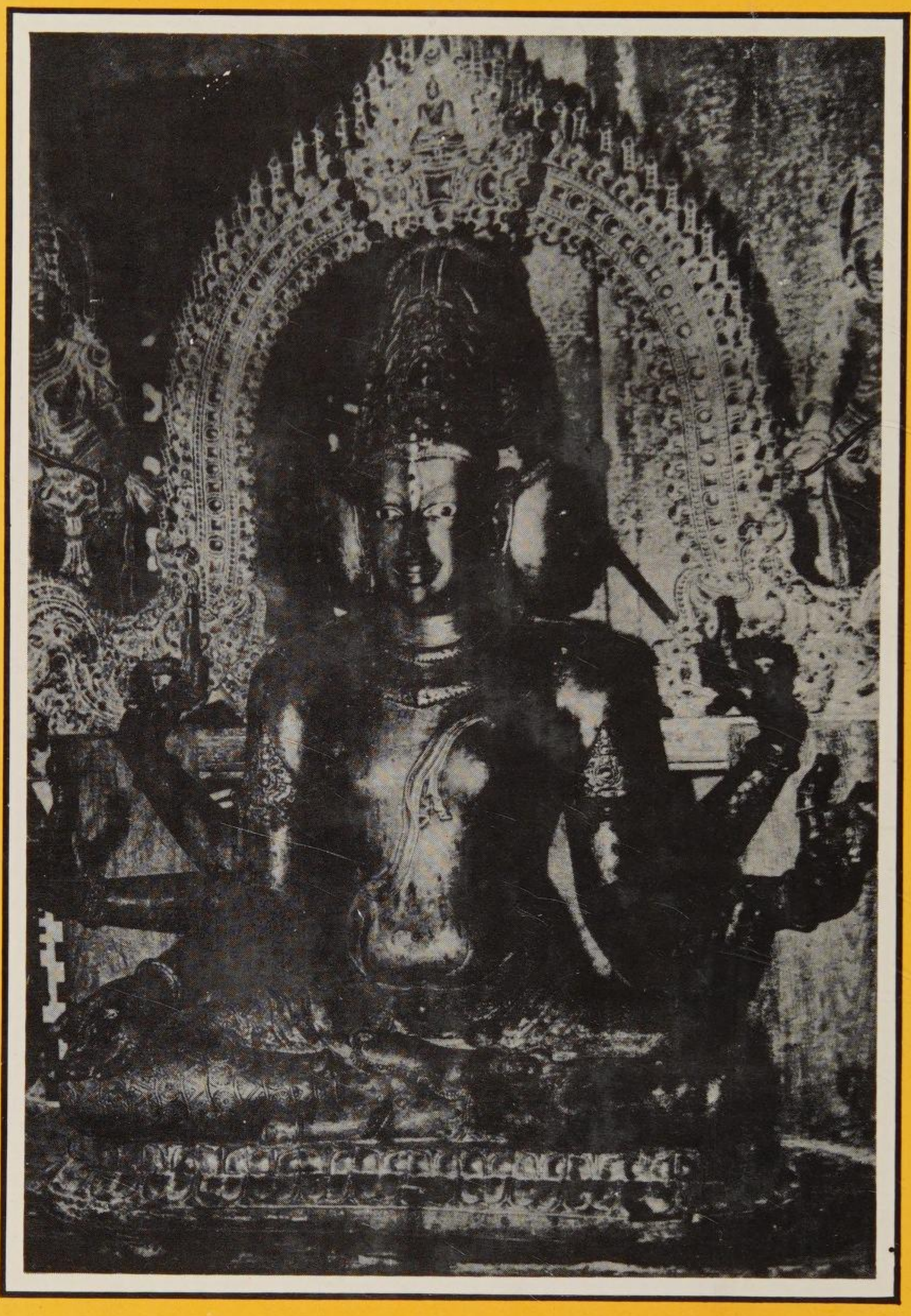

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